

Modern Philology

VOL. IV

July, 1906

No. 1

STUDIES IN CERVANTES

I. "PERSILES Y SIGISMUNDA"

I. INTRODUCTION

When, on September 9, 1616, but a few months after the death of Cervantes, el Maestro Josef de Valdivieso¹ penned the necessary *aprobacion* prefixed to the first edition of the *Persiles y Sigismunda*, he perhaps unconsciously gave to his opinion of the work a personal note which lends it a charm and value seldom or never found in the usually perfunctory official approval. The cheerful and buoyant spirit of the aged romancer was now no more, but he had left to posterity works which were destined to become thenceforward a part of the national life of Spain. Addressing his official approval to the king, Valdivieso says:

Por mandado de Vuessa Alteza, he visto el libro de los trabajos de Persiles de Miguel de Ceruantes Saavedra, illustre hijo de nuestra nacion, y padre illustre de tantos buenos hijos, con que dichosamente la enobleziò; no hallo en el cosa còtra nuestra Santa Fè Catolica, y buenas costumbres, antes muchas de honesta, y apazible recreacion, y pór el se podria decir, lo que san Geronimo de Origines por el comentario sobre los Cantares: Cum in omnibus omnes, in hoc se ipsum superauit Origenes; pues de quantos nos dexò escritos, ninguno es n.as ingenioso,

¹ Also written Valdivielso; an account of his life and writings may be found in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (London, 1863), Vol. II, p. 331; the single volume which contains his dramatic works is very rare, but the Imperial Library at Vienna has a copy. The title reads: *Doce actos sacramentales y dos comedias divinas* por el Maestro Joseph de Valdivielso (Toledo, 1622). Cf. Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Litteratur und Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1854), Vol. II, pp. 491, 497, 651, and *Obras de Francisco de Quevedo Villlegas*, edited by Don A. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (Madrid, 1876), Vol. II, p. 467.

mas culto, ni mas entretenido, en fin cisne de su buena vegez: casi entr los aprietos de la muerte cantò este parto de su venera(n)do ingenio.

To us, no doubt, this exaggerated appreciation has little value beyond that of a friendly tribute; after a lapse of three hundred years its praise finds no echo, for no work by Cervantes has been so thoroughly consigned to an oblivion which, according to most critics, would appear to be well deserved. Yet the verdict of the *aprobacion* was justified, for a time at least, by an unusual demand for the book immediately after its publication.¹ Within the same year of the first edition (1617) six others appeared,² and by 1629 ten editions had seen the light. Thus the *Persiles*

¹ A complete list of all the editions of the *Persiles* may be found in the *Bibliografia Critica de las Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, por D. Leopoldo Rius (Madrid, 1895-1905; 3 vols.); cf. Vol. I, pp. 160 ff. The first edition was printed by Juan de la Cuesta, who had issued the *Don Quixote*. After that of 1629 there was no other until the eighteenth century, when eight new issues appeared. The romance, however, had been used by Francisco de Roxas Zorrilla in his comedy *Persiles y Sigismunda*, of which the earliest printed copy known is dated 1632 (cf. Barroga's catalogue, p. 685). In the nineteenth century there were twelve editions, of which one saw the light in New York (1827), and one in Paris (1835). Translations of the story were made almost immediately after its appearance (cf. Vol. I, p. 388, of Rius); two in French appeared in Paris, 1618, the first by François de Rosset, and the second by le Sieur D'Audiguier; and one in English, in London, 1619, by an unknown person. The title is of interest: "The Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda. A northern history: Wherein amongst the variable Fortunes of the Prince of Thule, and this Princesse of Frisland, are interlaced many witty discourses, morall, politicall, and delighfull. The first copie was written in Spanish; translated afterward into French; and now last into English. London. Printed by H. L. for M. L., etc., 1619." Upon this English version John Fletcher based his play, *The Custom of the Country*, one of the vilest ever put upon the stage. When Alex. Dyce edited it (Vol. IV, p. 385) in the *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (11 vols. London, 1844), he was unaware that Cervantes' *Persiles* was the source, though the fact had been pointed out as early as 1818 by F. W. V. Schmidt, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der romantischen Poesie* (Berlin), p. 180 (cf. p. 5, n. 3). Ticknor, Vol. II, p. 133, n. 2 (cf. p. 9, n. 2) mentions some of the ideas and episodes which were taken from Cervantes by Fletcher, making it clear, at the same time, that the indecency is all Fletcher's own. I am not aware that any thoroughgoing comparison of the romance with the play has yet been made. Leo Bahlsen, "Spanische Quellen der dramatischen Litteratur, besonders Englands zu Shakespeares Zeit" (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte* [Berlin, 1893], Vol. VI, p. 155), repeats the gist of Ticknor's comparison. Cf. also Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosaedichtung*, pp. 278, 493, 511; also *Englische Studien*, Vol. IX, p. 24, No. 37, "On the Chronology of the Plays of Fletcher and Massinger" (Fleay), and A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899), Vol. II, p. 722. Here Ward says that the actual origin of the play was first pointed out in 1875! Cf. also *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. II, New Series, p. 592; Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, etc.* (Erlangen und Leipzig, 1895), p. 65; *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Variorum edition (London, 1904), Vol. I, p. 490.

A translation of the *Persiles* into Italian appeared in Venice in 1628. Various translations have followed since. The first edition of the *Persiles y Sigismunda* may be consulted in the Ticknor library in Boston and in Mr. Huntington's library in New York. The first English version is in the British Museum. In referring hereafter to the romance, I shall give the page according to the edition of Rivadeneyra, Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, Vol. I, *Obras de Miguel de Cervantes*.

² No. 346 of Rius' catalogue is considered a counterfeit; cf. also the catalogue of Ticknor's library, that of the British Museum, and that of Salvá, No. 1755.

saw almost as many issues within twelve years of its first appearance as Part I of *Don Quixote*, which was printed eleven times from 1605 to 1617. Master Valdivieso had unquestionably diagnosed his times well, recognizing the taste then in vogue among readers of romance; and the public, for its part, could do nothing but accept into the body of current literature a novel so thoroughly in keeping with it as the fanciful experiences of *Persiles* and *Sigismunda*. For in its imaginative and frequently irrational character this remarkable "Story of the North" was either on a par with, or far superior to, most of the tales which could have been found on the shelves of the *aficionados*. To realize that this is the truth, we need but examine not only such romances of a purely irrational type as the *Pastoral* novels, but also such tales as were meant ostensibly to reproduce the everyday life in the peninsula, namely the *Peregrino en su patria* or the *Novelas* by Lope, or the tales of Montalban incorporated in his *Para Todos*. That even the latter class are frequently a tissue of extravagances and impossibilities would be difficult to deny. As regards the popularity of the *Persiles*, however—whether justified or not will be seen later—there is some evidence, at least, that it was still a favorite book about the middle of the eighteenth century. There exists a valuable list of entertaining stories (made up by one Alonso de Padilla), of which a reprint was considered opportune. The *Persiles* stands among the first, and it is certain that a bookseller who knew his market would issue only books of which a profitable sale seemed assured.¹ Now, in 1728 an edition of the *Persiles* had already been printed by Alonso de (sic) Padilla in Madrid, which would indicate that the prospectus of forthcoming books had been compiled but a few years previous. The large demand for the romance must

¹ My copy of the list is printed in a volume entitled *Historias peregrinas y exemplares, etc., por Don Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses* (Madrid, 1739), and occupies two introductory leaves. The list is called: "Indice de libros entretenidos de Novelas, Patrañas, Cuentos, Historias, y Casos tragicos, para divertir la ociosidad, hecho por Don Pedro Joseph Alonso y Padilla, Librero de Camara de su Magestad, quien desea dar noticia a los Aficionados, y con el tiempo los irá reimprimiendo muchos de los que aqui van anotados, que no los ay, y muchos no tienen noticia de ellos por el transcurso de el tiempo." Then follows the list which was probably prefixed to all the books issued from Alonso y Padilla's press at about this time. Cf. also the prologue *al lector* of Lope de Vega's *Romancero Espiritual* (Madrid, 1720) (written by Alonso y Padilla); printed in Barrera's *Nueva Biografia de Lope de Vega*, p. 392.

have justified still another edition, for in 1734 the *Persiles* was published again in Barcelona. Moreover, in the important edition of *Don Quixote* published in London in 1738 (4 vols. printed by J. & R. Tonson), to which was prefixed the first scholarly life of Cervantes (dated 1737), by D. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, the latter does not hesitate to give *Persiles y Sigismunda* the preference over *Don Quixote*. This is an eloquent testimony to the high position which the former held at the time.¹ As late as

¹ Cf. p. 101 of the *Vida de Cervantes*; seeing that this first important judgment passed upon the romance is inaccessible to most students, I quote from it the following, much of which has been so frequently repeated, but without any reference to the source: "Cervantes dijo, que su *Persiles y Sigismunda* se atrevia a competir con *Heliodoro*. La mayor alabanza que podemos darle, es decir, que es cierto. Los amores que refiere son castísimos, la fecundidad de la invención maravillosa; en tanto grado, que prodigo su ingenio, excedió en la multitud de Episodios. Los sucesos son muchos i muy varios. En unos se descubre la imitación de *Heliodoro*, i de otros, muy mejorada; en los demás campea la novedad. Todos están dispuestos con arte, i bien explicados, con circunstancias casi siempre verosímiles. Quanto más se interna el Leitor en esta Obra, tanto es mayor el gusto de leerla, siendo el Tercero i Cuarto Libro mucho mejores que el Primero i Segundo. Los continuos trabajos llevados en paciencia acaban en descanso, sin máquina alguna: porque un hombre como Cervantes, sería milagro que acabasse con algún milagro, para manifestar la felicidad de su raro ingenio. En las descripciones excedió a *Heliodoro*. Las dестe suelen ser sobrado frecuentes, i muy pomposas. Las de Cervantes a su tiempo, i muy naturales. Aventajóle también en el estilo; porque aunque el de *Heliodoro* es elegantísimo, es algo afectado, demasiadamente figurado, i más Poético de lo que permite la Prosa . . . Pero el de Cervantes es propio, proporcionadamente sublime, modestamente figurado, i templadamente Poético en tal qual descripción. En suma, esta Obra es de mayor invención, artificio, i de estilo más sublime que la de *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Pero no ha tenido igual acogida: porque la invención de la Historia de *Don Quijote* es más popular, i contiene Personas más graciosas; i como son menos en número, el Leitor retiene mejor la memoria de las costumbres, hechos i caracteres de cada una. Fuera de eso el estilo es más natural, i tanto más descansado, quanto menos sublime." Cf. also Clemencio's edition of *Don Quixote* (Madrid, 1894), Vol. I, p. liv. The favorable opinion of Mayans y Siscar probably became known in England chiefly through *The Life and Exploits of . . . Don Quixote . . .* translated . . . by Charles Jarvis (London, 1742). Vol. I contains the life of Cervantes by Mayans y Siscar, translated by Ozell. Subsequent editions of Jarvis' translation, however, substituted another biography of Cervantes. The testimony of this upon the standing of the *Persiles* during the latter half of the eighteenth century is of interest. "[The *Persiles*] is a romance of the grave sort written after the manner of Heliodorus' *Ethiopics* with which Cervantes says it dared to vie. It is in such esteem with the Spaniards, that they generally prefer it to *Don Quixote*, which can only be owing to their not being sufficiently cured of their fondness for romance." (From ed. London, 1821, Vol. I, p. xlviii.) Smollett, in his translation, 1755 (cf. prefatory life of Cervantes), merely copies from the Spanish biography of Mayans y Siscar, when he speaks of the elegance of diction, entertaining incidents, and fecundity of invention to be noted in the *Persiles* (p. xxvi of *Life of Cervantes*, Vol. I, 2d ed., London, 1781). J. G. Lockhart, in the biography of Cervantes which he prefixed to his edition of Motteux's translation of *Don Quixote*, 1822, stands at the parting of the ways. What he says of the *Persiles* combines the appreciation of the eighteenth century with the indifference of the nineteenth. He says: "This performance [the *Persiles*] is an elegant and elaborate imitation of the style and manner of Heliodorus. It displays felicity of invention and power of description, and has always been considered as one of the purest specimens of Castilian writing; nevertheless, it has not preserved any very distinguished popularity nor been classed (except in regard to style) by any intelligent critic of more recent times with the best of Cervantes' works." (P. xxx of *Life*, Edin., 1879.) Coleridge, in a

1811 Sismondi felt justified in telling hearers of the lectures which he delivered at Geneva, that the Spaniards rated the story of *Persiles* as the equal of *Don Quixote*.¹ He unfortunately does not say from what evidence he reaches this conclusion, but it is not likely that the large number of the editions of the *Persiles* which were published during the eighteenth century was sufficient to account for such a view; Sismondi, no doubt, was familiar with the high regard in which the *Persiles* was held by several contemporary Spanish writers.² On the other hand, a search among German men of letters, especially such as were under the influence of the Romantic movement at the time, reveals an enthusiasm for the last work of Cervantes which, while limited to those in sympathy with the peculiar tenets of a school of fiction, was apparently unqualified.³

lecture on *Don Quixote* and Cervantes, says the latter "was the inventor of novels for the Spaniards, and in his *Persiles* and *Sigismunda* the English may find the germ of their *Robinson Crusoe*" (p. 274, Vol. IV, of Complete Works [New York, 1871]). It is too bad that Coleridge did not enlarge upon this rather vague assertion.

¹ "Le jugement des Espagnols place en effet ce roman à côté de *Don Quichotte*, au dessus de tout le reste de ce qu'a écrit Cervantes." (Printed in Vol. III, p. 419, of *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi [Paris, 1813]).

² D. Vicente de los Rios (1780) and D. Juan A. Pellicer (1797) say nothing worthy of note in the introductory matter to their respective editions of *Don Quixote*. In the prologue to Sancha's excellent edition of the *Persiles*, however (Madrid, 1802), may be found an expression of the opinion then current in Spain: "No son pocos los sabios, que, no obstante el notorio mérito de todas las obras del famoso Español Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, y sin embargo de los repetidos elogios prodigados principalmente á la Vida y Hechos de *Don Quixote* de la Mancha, que ha corrido siempre con la primera estimacion, dan la preferencia sobre todas ellas á los *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*," etc. Then the editor goes on to praise, as others had done, the excellency in style and plan of the work ("Prologo del Editor"). Sismondi must have known this edition. Only a few years later Navarrete, in his *Vida de Cervantes* which was prefixed to the Spanish Academy's fourth edition of *Don Quixote* (1819), says of the *Persiles*: "El [estilo] de este [Cervantes] es siempre propio con igualdad, y sublime con templanza y proporcion . . . De aquí resulta que esta obra de Cervantes sea de mayor invención y artificio, y de estilo mas igual y elevado que el *Quixote*, pues corrigió en ella las faltas de lenguaje y construcción," etc. (p. 190). Thus it may be seen how writers who came after Mayans y Siscar did little more than adopt his view (cf. p. 4, n. 1), and even his words.

³ As an excellent example, the words of so noted a Spanish scholar as Fried. Wilh. Val. Schmidt may be cited; they might have been written by Aug. Wilh. or Fried. Schlegel: "Das letzte Werk des grossen Cervantes, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, scheint überall ungebärlich wenig bekannt. Und dennoch kennen wir keinen geistlichen Roman, der sich mit diesem vergleichen dürfte. Die himmlische Liebe, vermahlt mit der sartesten irdischen, durch tausendfache Noth geläutert, immer wie der Karfunkel strahlend durch die Nacht der gemeinen Umgebung, endlich zum Schauen des langersuchten gelangend, das ist die Axe um welche herum die verschiedensten Erscheinungen des Lebens, Bestrebungen und Gesinnungen sich schwingen." Cf. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der romantischen Poesie*, (Berlin, 1818; [small] 8vo), p. 179. The interest which August W. Schlegel took in the *Persiles* was apparently limited chiefly to the romantic or poetic features of the novel, as

In the face of this highly commendatory attitude toward the *Persiles* in the past, what adequate, or even tentative, appreciation can we turn to in our own times? Could this creation by Cervantes have been treated with greater indifference if it had been turned out by some unremembered literary drudge? What correspondingly important productions by the world's truly great writers—even though they be classed among their "minor works"—have been so consistently laid upon the shelf by either literary critic and historian, or by the modern analytic scholar? In this connection it will be necessary to summarize the verdicts passed on *Persiles y Sigismunda* during the nineteenth century, inadequate and repetitional though they be.

The first criticism worthy of consideration is naturally that of the German scholar, Friedrich Bouterwek, whose history of Spanish literature¹ is the earliest systematic presentation of the subject in German.² Bouterwek's judgment is of interest because

can be inferred from the three translations which he made of two sonnets and an ode to be found therein (pp. 665, 633, 583 of the *Persiles*, which is the order in which Schlegel's translations are printed, p. 189, Vol. IV, of *Aug. Wih. Schlegel's Sämtliche Werke* [Leipzig, 1846]). An unimportant work by Edmund Dorer, entitled *Cervantes und seine Werke nach deutschen Urtheilen* (Leipzig, 1881), contains a collection of opinions expressed by German novelists, poets, and philosophers, whose verdicts are, for the most part, imbued with the spirit of the Romantic School of Germany, and are consequently highly appreciative of all the writings of Cervantes. For, in accordance with the theories proclaimed by the school, he had become one of their standards of excellence in fiction. Many of the opinions have rather the interest of a novel point of view than the value of critical discrimination. But Dorer's book deserves to be cited, if only because it adduces further evidence that the *Persiles* was one of the hobbies of almost every one of the noted writers of the Romantic School. Among the most important opinions is that of Ludwig Tieck (p. 45), taken from his introduction to Dorothea Tieck's translation of the *Persiles* (Leipzig, 1837). He says: "Dieses bunte, seltsame Werk, Reiseabenteuer zweier Liebenden, ist wie eine Abzweigung jener prosaischen Ritterpoesie, oder jener steifen und unwahrscheinlichen Heldenromane anzusehen. Cervantes führt die wunderbare Geschichte in die vertrauliche Nähe seiner Leser; Spanien, das Vaterland, wird geschildert, berühmte Namen werden genannt und merkwürdige Begebenheiten angegedeutet . . . Die Erfindung ist oft so seltsam, . . . dass es der launige Cervantes nicht unterlassen kann, sein Gedicht selbst ironisch zu betrachten und über die Unmöglichkeit der Begebenheit zu scherzen . . . Ton und Sprache sind höchst manngfaltig, etc." From the pen of A. W. Schlegel there is a sonnet (p. 55) extolling the excellence of the *Persiles*, while the opinion of Friedr. Schlegel might be taken to voice the enthusiasm of the whole school (p. 60): "Es ist die späteste, fast zu reife, aber doch noch frisch und gewürhaft duftende Frucht dieses liebenswürdigen Geistes [i. e. Cervantes] der noch im letzten Hauch Poesie und ewige Jugend athmete."

¹ *Geschichte der schönen Wissenschaften* (with subtitle), "Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit." Von Friedr. Bouterwek (1804). Being Vol. III of a work entitled: *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1801-19).

² Cf. Ferd. Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen National-Litteratur* (Berlin, 1859), p. 1.

it contains in a nutshell practically all that has been said of the romance since his day. He regards the *Persiles* as "ein interessanter Nachtrag zu seinen [i. e., Cervantes'] übrigen Werken;" and he adds:

Sprache und Darstellung haben in diesem Roman besonders, bei der reinsten Simplicität, eine seltene Präcision und Politur. Aber die Idee eines solchen Romans war keiner neuen Ausführung werth. Cervantes wollte am Ende seiner glorreichen Laufbahn noch den Heliodor nachahmen.¹

Bouterwek sums up the work as a romantic description of fearful adventures with a sustained interest in the situations, but an absurd mixture of the real and fabulous, while the last half, where the scene is Spain and Italy, does not harmonize with the spirit of the first.

To what extent Bouterwek was influenced by Mayans y Siscar and subsequent critics of the eighteenth century, when he commends especially the simplicity of composition as well as the excellence in style of the *Persiles*, cannot be determined, and is unimportant. But this criticism, such as it is, has constituted the chief, if not the only, praise which the work has met with since his day. In stating his opinion, however, that the idea of the romance was old and did not deserve to be reproduced in a new manner, that Cervantes had taken it into his head to imitate Heliodorus, Bouterwek made a most insufficient and misleading statement. He has become responsible for the sweeping generalities patterned after his own by other writers, by not making it clear that the *Persiles*, though it is but an old theme in a new form, has none the less the merits of an original creation, just as does a new play though it be based upon an old plot. As regards the imitation of Heliodorus, what follows later will show how few are the reminiscences of the Greek romance, especially in substance, when compared with the rest of the material gleaned from the storehouse of Cervantes' reading. The remainder of Bouterwek's judgment is fair and to the point, but, being unfavorable to the *Persiles*, it could not have made the book attractive to the ordinary reader.

¹ Bouterwek, p. 359; cf. also the English translation of Thomasina Ross, *History of Spanish Literature*, by Frederick Bouterwek (London, 1847), p. 252.

When in 1814 John C. Dunlop published his *History of Prose Fiction*,¹ he appears to have been unaware of any relation between Heliodorus and Cervantes. The omission is, however, supplied by Felix Liebrecht, who translated Dunlop's work into German with the addition of numerous valuable notes.² The former saw fit, nevertheless, to repeat merely the unqualified statement that the *Persiles* is an imitation of Heliodorus, which he took, perhaps, as much from Ticknor as from Bouterwek. In 1822 the same idea had emanated from the pen of the noted Calderon scholar, Friederich W. V. Schmidt, which is all the more remarkable since he was an enthusiastic admirer of the *Persiles*, and must have recognized in it something more than a mere imitation of Heliodorus. Whereas we have extravagant praise in his *Beiträge* referred to above (p. 5, n. 3), we are now told merely that "die berühmteste Nachahmung [des Heliodor] bei den Spaniern ist die nordische Geschichte *Persiles und Sigismunda* von Cervantes."³ In 1857 Schmidt's early studies on Calderon's plays were incorporated in his important work on that poet, so we have the same idea unchanged, after a lapse of thirty-five years.⁴

¹ This work, of the utmost importance for a study of the genre to which the *Persiles* belongs, was entitled: *The History of Fiction: Being a Critical Account of the Most Celebrated Prose Works of Fiction from the Earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1814; 3 vols., 8vo; 4th Engl. ed., 2 vols., London, 1888, from which I shall quote from time to time).

² The title reads: *J. Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadichtungen oder Geschichte der Romane, Novellen, Märchen . . . aus dem Englischen übertragen . . . vermehrt . . . mit Anmerkungen versehen* (Berlin, 1851; cf. pp. 458 and 511). Liebrecht's notes were incorporated into the fourth English edition. The remark referred to is on p. 404, Vol. II, n. 3, of latter work. Erwin Rohde, in his excellent work, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorfäuser* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1900), cites Liebrecht's note without comment (p. 472, n. 1). In the English edition of Dunlop's work the *Persiles* is called by the peculiar title of *The Sorrows of Persiles and Sigismunda*, and in German *Die Leidengeschichte des Persiles und der Sigismunda*, a title which Liebrecht may have taken from Dorothea Tieck's translation called *Die Leiden des Persiles und der Sigismunda* (cf. p. 5, n. 3). A better rendition of *Trabajos* would be "Wanderings," since the plural *Trabajos* is used in this connection to signify the hardships of adventure.

³ *Wiener Jahrbücher der Litteratur*, Vol. XVIII, 1822. Cf. *Anzeige-Blatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, No. XVIII, p. 8.

⁴ *Die Schauspiele Calderon's dargestellt und erläutert von Fried. Wilh. Val. Schmidt* (Elberfeld, 1857), p. 290. Even Gervinus, in his *Geschichte der poetischen National-Litteratur der Deutschen* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1840), left the opinion of his predecessors unchallenged. He says (Vol. I, p. 263): "Es ist aber zu vermuthen, dass, wie später Tasso den Heliodor benutzte, wie den italienischen und spanischen Schäferdichtern Longus vorschwebt, wie Cervantes' ernster Roman [i. e., *Persiles y Sigismunda*] den ganzen Zuschmitt der griechischen Romane trägt, so auch in früherer Zeit vielerlei Griechisches in die neue romanische Poesie Eingang gefunden haben mag." This view was modified in the fifth edition, entitled

I have dwelt thus far only upon the appreciation which the *Persiles* met in Germany, where scientific research and scholarly criticism in the field of Spanish made practically the only progress achieved during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ We come now to the judgment passed upon the *Persiles* by George Ticknor, which is the most important of all, inasmuch as it has been unhesitatingly accepted and repeated up to the present time.² Ticknor's criticism is, as usual, a thoroughly independent one, and will to a large extent—at least, where common-sense or what is rational forms the only criterion—remain irrefutable. But while, generally speaking, it is impossible for a historian who covers a nation's whole literature to do justice to every important work, it will also be admitted, in the particular case of Ticknor, that, great as is his history as a whole, he was temperamentally less fitted to judge some works than he was others. Among those which suffered in his clear, unemotional treatment we must place the *Persiles*; whose importance lies in the fact that it is a characteristic production of its epoch, a creation not only typical of Spanish temperament, but one indispensable in any final word on the genius of Cervantes. This neither Ticknor nor any critic who followed him has duly recognized.

Ticknor begins by saying that the purpose of Cervantes seems to have been to write a serious novel when he undertook the *Persiles*.

Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1872), p. 206: "In *Persiles und Sigismunda* ging er [Cervantes] bis auf die Quelle der ersten Ritterdichtungen zurück, auf den alexandrinischen Roman, schildert uns gleichsam zur Erkenntniss den Typus dieser ganzen Literatur, in dem er uns ein liebendes Paar, das durch ein stetiges Gefühl aneinander geknüpft ist, von dem wunderlichsten Wechsel der Dinge ergriffen und als Spielball einer günstigen Götter, *Fortuna*, zeigt." The latter idea is important and will be considered in connection with Cervantes' theory of fiction. O. L. B. Wolff, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans* (Jena; 2d ed. 1850, p. 119), adds nothing to our knowledge. J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des spanischen Dramas* (Vol. IX of *Geschichte des Dramas*; Leipzig, 1872; p. 274), sees no saving qualities whatsoever in the *Persiles*.

¹ To be convinced of the interest and activity in behalf of Spanish literature in Germany at this time, one need but consult the notes in Ferd. Wolf's work on Spanish and Portuguese literature (1859), or such works as Schack's history of the Spanish drama, or Lemcke's *Handbuch der spanischen Litteratur*; and as regards the interest taken in Cervantes alone, the long list of translations as well as of editions in the original Spanish printed in Germany (given by Rius, *Bibliografía*, Vol. I) is an ample testimony.

² *History of Spanish Literature*, by George Ticknor (3 vols.; London, 1883), Vol. II, pp. 133 ff. The edition from which I quote differs but little from the German version of Julius, or the Spanish edition by Gayangos. Ticknor himself said, referring to all the scholars who completed his work: "From the results of their labors, carefully prosecuted . . . I have taken . . . everything that, as it has seemed to me, could add value, interest, or completeness to the present revised edition." (Preface, p. x.)

siles, and then he casts about to see what models Cervantes could have found for serious romantic fiction. All that the latter says, however, is that he hopes to produce an excellent *libro de entretenimiento*,¹ and nothing could have been farther from his thoughts than Ticknor's "serious"—that is, "modern"—conception of fiction. What Cervantes meant to produce was simply a tale of adventure extended beyond the ordinary length of the current *novela*. That this is all he implied can be seen from the common meaning of *entretenimiento* in his day. Near the beginning of the *novela*,² *Las fortunas de Diana*, written shortly after the death of Cervantes, Lope de Vega tells of his hesitancy in undertaking this genre in literature, which he had left untried up to that time, and which seemed to him more at home in Italy and France than in Spain. He admits the success of Cervantes in this field, and then adds:

Confieso que son libros de grande entretenimiento, y que podrian ser ejemplares, como algunas de las historias de Bandelo. . . . Y habiendo hallado tantas invenciones para mil comedias . . . serviré a vuestra merced con esta.

This, however, was addressed to his mistress, who was probably not expecting any serious psychological treatment in a tale written for her pleasure and entertainment. Moreover, the large majority of the reading public, especially the women, considered a book of fiction as a pleasant means of passing an hour of leisure, and not even a limited circle of the educated classes was trained to look upon a *novela* or a *comedia* as an accurate reproduction of society and its environment. All that the public demanded of a *libro de entretenimiento* is voiced in the desire so often expressed, namely, that the events described therein be *verosimiles* or credible. Characters and sentiments were not subjected to scrutiny, provided they were pleasing or amusing. Therefore, even such produc-

¹ Cf. "Dedicatoria al Conde de Lemos," *Don Quixote*, Part II. "Con esto me despido, ofreciendo a V. Ex. los *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, libro a quien daré fin dentro de cuatro meses, *Deo volente*; el qual ha de ser, o el mas malo, o el mejor que en nuestra lengua se haya compuesto: quiero desir de los de entretenimiento; y digo que me arrepiento de auer dicho el mas malo, porque segun la opinion de mis amigos, ha de llegar al estremo de bondad posible."

² Printed in *La Filemna, con otras diversas Rimas, Proses y Versos*, de Lope de Vega Carpio (Madrid, 1621); accessible in "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles" (Rivadeneyra), *obras no dramaticas de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1872), p. 1.

tions in Spanish literature as may be said to give a good picture of contemporary life must be carefully examined, if definite results regarding the customs and culture of the times are to be reached. This is especially true in the case of the theater of Cervantes' day. To be sure, the *comedia* is one of the most important sources that we have for the study of Spanish culture, but its value is frequently vitiated by the playwright's failure to differentiate sufficiently the spirit of fiction in comedy from that of the *novela*. In the latter, absence of psychological truthfulness and an excess of romantic or imaginative elements are pardonable and even logical; but the farther a *comedia* gets from that which is simply natural and actually representative, the less it can be used as a reliable document on contemporary life. The power of appreciating the distinctions between fact and fiction, however, is a matter of training, and playwrights were indifferent to them even when they were ostensibly walking upon the solid ground of history. Not infrequently do we find the claim of a *historia verdadera*¹ made for a *comedia* which, though drawn from a germ of truth lodged in some chronicle or popular ballad, is in its ultimate form, for the most part, an imaginary creation. Such being the spirit of every kind of fiction, a novelist would not feel tempted to look for "serious" models for his work; he would be guided by the spirit and practice of contemporary writers. It is therefore plain that Cervantes was merely in need of some framework which would enable him to draw out indefinitely the manner of the *novela*, and thereby create a book for general entertainment,² longer than the ordinary tale. That was all he could have intended to do. But Ticknor is troubled to find a guide for the *Persiles*, and all that he can hit upon is "the imaginary travels of Lucian, three or four Greek romances, and the romances of chivalry." I have been

¹ For a full discussion of the term *historia verdadera* in connection with the *comedia* cf. Max Krenkel, *Klassische Bühnendichtungen der Spanier*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 21 ff.

² The term *libro de entretenimiento* or *libros entretenidos* (cf. p. 3, n. 1) had come to include all prose creations of fiction, just as the term *comedia* included both tragedy and comedy. It was applied to trifles like *patrañas*, and *diálogos* (cf. those *de apacible entretenimiento*, by Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo), as well as to a long history like that of *Persiles* (the *aprobacion* of the Spanish version of Tatius [cf. p. 14, n. 1] says it was worthy of being printed "para apacible entretenimiento y exemplo de artificiosas y utiles ficciones"). Or we find it replaced by *pasatiempo* and *recreo* (cf. *El Patrañuelo*, by Timoneda, *epistola al amantissimo lector*), or by *apacible recreacion*, as in Valdivieso's *aprobacion*, cited above.

able to discover no evidence from the *Persiles* itself that Cervantes ever saw Lucian's *True History*.¹ Moreover, it would be a difficult task to prove either from his life or his writings that he could read Greek—or had the time to do it. I hope to show in what follows later that the knowledge which he had of Latin authors could have been obtained through the medium of translations; and I see no reason to believe that he could read French. On the other hand, both his long sojourn in Italy as well as the testimony derived from his works justify the conclusion that he was thoroughly acquainted with Italian.² I have been unable to find any mention of a complete Spanish translation of Lucian³ printed within the lifetime of Cervantes, but at least seven editions in Italian appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁴ One of the latter he could therefore have seen during his sojourn in Italy. But the idea of Ticknor is at bottom somewhat illogical. The *True History* of Lucian is a wild extravaganza,⁵ a satire on previous books of travel; and, notwithstanding this fact, Cervantes, who had planned a "serious romance," according to Ticknor, is supposed to have had it among the few books which served as a guide for the *Persiles*. Lucian may therefore be dismissed without further thought.

The influence "of three or four Greek romances," as Ticknor rather vaguely puts it, is, on the other hand, worthy of the most careful consideration. In the absence of any specific names, we

¹ It is possible that Cervantes knew the works of Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544), which may have suggested to him the origin of Don Quixote's madness. The first impulse to write his great work would thus have come from Italy. Cf. B. Zumbini, *Studi di Letteratura Italiana* (Firenze, 1894), p. 165.

² Salvá's catalogue No. 1879 mentions a *Historia verdadera de Luziano traduzida de Griego en lengua Castellana* (Argentina, 1551); but this contains only Book I. Lucian's *Dialogues*, however, appeared in Spanish in 1550 (anonymously), and again in 1621, translated by Franc. de Herrera Maldonado. Both are mentioned by Salvá (Nos. 3934, 3935 of his catalogue), and by Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux* (Dresden, 1863; under *Lucian*, Vol. IV, p. 277). Lucian's works were first translated into French in 1583 (Paris); cf. Graesse; another edition, 1634 (Paris), is mentioned in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. III, p. 507 (Hamburg, 1726).

³ Cf. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*.

⁴ It will be remembered that among the various experiences through which Lucian and his companions go in their travels, are shipwrecks upon islands where the rivers are of wine and the trees women from the waist upward; a trip to the moon, where they meet men carried by great vultures; a battle between the hosts of the Sun and the Moon, in which the soldiers from the Great Bear are mounted on fleas as large as elephants; a sojourn in the belly of a whale large enough to hold forests and great cities, etc. Cf. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff.

may take it for granted that Ticknor meant Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and possibly Longus, or whoever was the author of the pastoral romance of *Daphnis and Chloë*. The atmosphere as well as the entire make-up of the last, however, are so different from those of the other two that it can more easily be disposed of first.¹ Whatever influence it exerted upon Spanish literature was most likely through the channel of the Italian pastoral, and then in an attenuated form; for, owing to the similarity of its nature to that of the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil, its influence must at an early date have become indistinguishably fused with theirs. The *Daphnis and Chloë* has consequently nothing to do with the genre to which the *Persiles* belongs, and though it will be clear later that some influence was exerted upon the latter by the pastoral novel, such influence will be found to be only in the mannerism which distinguishes the Spanish prose pastoral of the Renaissance epoch. This leaves the works of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius to be dealt with. I shall treat the question of Heliodorus at length in my next article, and shall consequently speak of Tatius first.

If the romance of the faithful loves of *Clitophon and Leucippe*, by Tatius, had been favored by fortune with a great translator like Amyot, as was the case with the *Theagenes and Chariklea* of Heliodorus, its influence upon literature during the Renaissance might have been as great as that of the latter novel. Two translations² of Tatius into French appeared within a few decades of the publication of Amyot's Heliodorus;³ but they must have made

¹ The romance of *Daphnis and Chloë* was first translated into French in 1559 by Amyot, but it was not printed in Italian before 1643, according to numerous catalogues which I have consulted. It first appeared in a Spanish garb anonymously in our own times (1880), in a translation made by Juan Valera. It is not likely that Cervantes ever read the story. Noted Greek romances which were unknown in the seventeenth century are the romance of *Chæren* and *Kallirrhœ*, by Chariton, first printed at Amsterdam in 1750; and that of *Habrokome and Antheia*, by Xenophon the Ephesian, published in 1726 at London, following a translation into Italian also published there, 1723. (Cf. Dunlop, Vol. I, pp. 58 and 61; Graesse, *Trésor*; British Museum catalogue; and Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 517 ff., 409 ff. I have found no reason for touching upon the Byzantine imitations, such as the story of *Hysmine* and *Hysminias* by Eustathius, Rohde, pp. 556 ff.

² Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. VI, p. 797) gives them the dates of 1568, 1575 (Paris).

³ The first edition of Amyot's Heliodorus, with the title *Histoire Aethiopique d'Heliodorus traitant des loyales et pudiques amours de Théagène et de Chariclée* appeared in 1547 (Paris; fol.).

comparatively far less impression, for I cannot find a record of any translation into Spanish¹ earlier than the seventeenth century. But Cervantes could have seen some Italian version, for during the latter half of the sixteenth century no less than six editions of Tatius appeared in that language.² The character of the latter tale, however, is so similar to that of Heliodorus that the influence of both becomes more or less identical in those elements of the *Persiles* where it may be noted, namely in the bare outline or framework of a story of adventure. In a few unimportant details it is possible that the history of *Klitophon* and *Leucippe* lurked in the memory of Cervantes, as will appear in another paper, but it cannot be definitely proven, that such was the case.

As regards the *Theagenes* and *Chariklea*, we have the statement of Cervantes himself that he was competing with Heliodorus when he wrote the *Persiles* and he had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the former romance in his own tongue, for up to the time of his death there is a record of at least four editions in Spanish.³ But in order that the nature and substance

¹ The list of Alonso de Padilla cited above (p. 3, n. 1) includes a novel, called *Los mas fieles amantes Leucipe y Clitofonte*. I cannot find any mention of it in the catalogues of rare books, but the prologue to Fernando de Mena's translation of Heliodorus (1787, Madrid) cites it in a footnote: "Los mas fieles amantes, Leucipe y Clitophonte: historia Griega por Achiles Tacio Alexandrino: Traducida, consurada y parte compuesta por D. Diego Agreda y Vargas, vecino y natural de la villa de Madrid, etc., En Madrid por Juan de la Cuesta, Año de 1617." The romance, which appeared in Venice 1532, with the title of *Historia de los amores de Claro y Floriso y de los trabajos de Isea*, by Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso, has one or two episodes reminiscent of Tatius (cf. p. 17, n. 1); printed in *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.* (Rivadeneyra), Vol. III, p. 431, "Novelistas anteriores a Cervantes," edited by D. Buenaventura C. Aribau (3d ed., Madrid, 1858).

² Graesse (cf. *supra*), Vol. I, p. 13, gives the dates 1546, 1550, 1598 for Italian versions, while the British Museum catalogue mentions four with the dates 1560, 1563, 1598, 1608.

³ The original romance Ἡλιόδωρον Αἰθιοπικὴ ἴστορια βιβλία δύο was first printed in 1534 (Ito Basileae, Hervag.), and translated into French in 1547, by Amyot (cf. p. 13, n. 3); then into Latin, 1552 (fol. Bas.). A Spanish version appeared at Antwerp in 1554; one in Italian at Venice in 1558; and one in English at London in 1587. Only the Spanish version concerns us here. Its title reads: "Historia Elhiopica de Heliodoro trasladada de frances en vulgar Castellano por un secreto amigo de su patria y corregido segun el Griego por el mismo, en Anvers 1554. En casa de Martin Nuicio (12mo British Museum) 8vo Salvá." It is an anonymous translation and not by F. de Mena, as is well proven by the *aprobacion* and *prologo* of a new translation which followed in 1587 with the title: "La historia de los dos leales amantes Theagenes y Chariclea, trasladada agora de nuevo de Latin en romance por Fernando de Mena Vezino de Toledo, Alcalá de Henares (Juan Gracian) 1587, 8vo." The *aprobacion* speaks of a previous translation by another author, while the prologue by Mena says that a translation of Heliodorus made from a French version had come into his hands, and that the numerous errors and suppressions to be noted therein justified the new version which was made from the Latin and then compared with the Greek. In spite of this testimony, the British Museum catalogue attributes the edition of 1554 to Mena, and Graesse (cf. his *Trésor* under "Heliod.") makes the same mistake. Nicolas Antonio confuses the

of the influence of Heliodorus on Cervantes may be perfectly clear when we are ready to take it up, it will be necessary to dwell at length on the latter's statement just mentioned. What did he mean, when in the prologue to his *Novelas exemplares*, he characterizes the *Persiles* as a *libro que se atreve á competir con Heliodoro?* Cervantes would undoubtedly have admitted that he had imitated the Greek writer, but what would he have meant by "imitation," and how does the term, when baldly applied to a story nowadays, differ in meaning from that given it in the lifetime of Cervantes? Upon this difference hinges my objection to the unqualified dicta uttered all through the nineteenth century, of which I have given specimens above.

There can be no doubt that the admission quoted from the prologue to the *novelas* has been the first and chief cause of all the generalities and vague opinions uttered about the *Persiles*, and yet Cervantes cannot be blamed for confessing to a *competition* or imitation in the sense in which he would have used the word. In the first place, it was employed by novelists to contrast with the term "to translate" (*romanzar* or *romancear*), though the latter did not, generally speaking, mean a close and faithful rendering of the original. Thus in the first *dedicatoria* to his *Historia de los amores de Claro y Florisea y de los trabajos de Isea*,¹ Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso says that, having found in a certain bookstore a fragment of a Greek story, he was greatly taken with its lively and pleasing invention. "Por lo cual," he adds "acordé de, imitando y no romanizando, escribir esta mi obra;" that is, his intention was to be original and not to copy his model; and as a further testimony to the fact that he is standing on his own feet he says, "no uso mas que de la *invencion*, y algunas palabras de aquellos razonamientos" (i. e., of the fragmentary book he had

two translations (*Biblioteca*, Nov., 1783, Vol. I, p. 380), saying that Mena's version was made from the French and not from the Latin or the Greek. Owing to the growing demand for romantic novels of adventure, Mena's version was reprinted (1) Barcelona (Ger. Margarit), 1614 (Cophophon 1615), 8vo; (2) Madrid (Alonso Martin), 1615, 8vo; and (3) Paris ("Vista y corregia por Cesar Oudin"), 1616, 12mo. In 1722 F. M. de Castillejo published a new translation (Madrid, 4to); and (4) in 1787 Mena's version was reprinted by A. de Sotos (Madrid, 2 vols., small 8vo). Of these versions, the last two are in the Ticknor library. The prologue to the edition of 1787 speaks of an anonymous translation published at Salamanca in 1581, 8vo, of which I have not seen mention elsewhere.

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 3.

found). Consequently, such imitation, since it followed merely the *invencion* or framework of some other fiction, could in no way be considered open to censure. If, however, anyone should be unreasonable enough to blame such a procedure, the common practice of the age, as he goes on to say, would be found sufficient to justify it:

Cuanto en esta mi obra en prosa haber imitado à Ovidio en los libros de *Tristibus*, à Seneca en las tragedias, à aquellos razonamientos amorosos y à otros autores latinos, no tengo pena; porque no tuvieron mas privilegio los que hicieron lo mismo de lo que yo tengo, siendo ellos todos harto mas sabios e ingeniosos de lo que yo soy.¹

And just as Nuñez de Reinoso applies the word *invencion* in a very broad way to the skeleton or framework of a romance, so also does Lope² use it to designate the plot or outline of any one of the thousand *comedias* which he has invented. In the second place, in a more general sense, the word *imitar* as well as *invencion*, would imply merely an effort on the part of the novelist to produce another *libro de entretenimiento* for the idle reader, one similar in genre to its model. Thus, as the *Theagenes and Chariklea* belongs to the class of the *roman d'aventure*, so also does the *Persiles*. And the latter conception of imitation explains Cervantes' substitution of the word *competir* for *imitar*, since he was not imitating Heliodorus so much in substance as he was competing with him in popularity among the lovers of romance.³

The plea of originality would therefore be based largely upon the way in which the framework had been filled out with original material, with episodes and adventures newly imagined; at least, borrowed elements would have to assume a new garb—or some kind of effective disguise—before they could be placed to the credit of the man who reinvented them. Naturally enough, in most cases the reading public was not acquainted with the innumerable sources open to a writer of romances, and so the tendency to call that which was not exactly a translation an original story

¹ Second *dedicatoria*, p. 432.

² Cf. the passage in his *novela, Las fortunas de Diana*, cited above, p. 10, n. 2.

³ Pellicer, it seems to me, misunderstands the meaning of Cervantes entirely, when he calls *competir* a stronger word than *imitar*; he thinks of both in a modern sense, when he says: "ni el mismo Cervantes creyó desaynar su ingenio original, proponiéndose en su *Persiles* no solo imitar, sino competir con Heliodoro" (p. xxx of "discurso preliminar" to his edition of *Don Quijote* [Madrid, 1797]).

was no doubt frequently abused. But it is hazardous to apply our word "imitation" to these novels in too general and off-hand a way, lest the implied imitation be taken to mean a copy of its model throughout. Close study reveals the absorption of numerous ideas or episodes from various unacknowledged sources, and the inclination which critics have had in the past to hit upon some one writer, who represents the limit of their vision, and must therefore be made entirely responsible for the invention of the story, leads to woefully inadequate results, notably in the case of such a genre as that to which the *Persiles* belongs.¹ To say, therefore, that Cervantes imitated Heliodorus is to say little or nothing of significance. Besides, it must be remembered in this connection that the mention of Heliodorus was, in part at least, prompted by a certain literary affectation common in those times. It was the fashion to mention the source of your inspiration in the form of some worthy and popular writer, who, if he were an ancient one, would be a further testimony to your erudition.² But another and more urgent reason for "daring to compete with Heliodorus" will be given in my next paper. Before going further afield in this matter, it will be necessary to complete the study of Ticknor's appreciation, and that of some of those who came after him.

It may be remembered that, in planning his *Persiles*, Cervantes had, according to Ticknor, only Lucian, some Greek romances, and the romances of chivalry to guide him. The influence of the latter type remains to be considered, so that it may be clear with what qualifications the words of Ticknor can be accepted. If we look upon the romances of chivalry as a "serious" part of the

¹ Thus Dunlop (*supra*, Vol. II, p. 404) calls the above-mentioned romance of *Florizel (sic) Clæro and the Unfortunate Ysea* (p. 14, n. 1) a close imitation (in its first part) of the story by Tatius. This characterization will hardly hold, for the story is patterned after the novels of chivalry. In the same off-hand manner Ticknor (Vol. II, p. 134, n. 5) quotes Sainte-Beuve in part: "des naufrages, des déserts, des descentes par mer, et des ravissements, c'est donc toujours plus ou moins l'ancien roman d'Heliodore [celui de d'Urfé, le genre romanesque espagnol, celui des nouvelles de Cervantes]" (*Critiques et portraits littéraires* [Paris, 1839], p. 173); and then unjustly adds, "these words describe more than half of the *Persiles* and *Sigismunda*."

² This affectation, once common upon the title pages of many of the romances of chivalry, was hard to eradicate. Braunfels says of it: "Die Romanschreiber wollten durch das Vorgeben ausländischer und meistens entlegener Quellen, ihren Dichtungen einen grösseren Anschein der Wahrheit und mehr Autorität verleihen" (*Kritischer Versuch über den Roman Amadis von Gallien* [Leipzig, 1876], p. 83). (Cf. also "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles," *Libros de Caballerías*, edited by Gayangos [Madrid, 1857], "Catálogo," pp. lxiii ff.)

genre of adventure, as models capable of suggesting possible events in a world supposedly contemporary with the reader, and believe that they were taken seriously by Cervantes, we may follow Ticknor's suggestion and put them into the same type with the *Persiles*. But it is not likely that Cervantes would have been pleased to see his *libro de entretenimiento* classed with books which were almost wholly a tissue of extravagant and impossible adventures. For, whatever modicum of truth there may be in the criticism made in some quarters,¹ that *Persiles* vies with *Amadis* in strange and fantastical experiences, it may, nevertheless, be said that Cervantes generally strove to remain within the bounds of what to him seemed perfectly possible. Occasionally, where he has accepted a legend or incorporated a miraculous event,² he does so apologetically. Much of what to us seems so impossible in his *Persiles* can be accounted for if we take into consideration the absolute ignorance of the times in matters of climate, geography, plant and animal distribution, and finally of the customs which prevailed among distant and scarcely heard-of peoples. The age of discovery was now in full swing, and Europe was constantly thrilled by the unsubstantiated reports on the one hand, or by extended printed narratives on the other, of wonderful events which had come to pass in some unknown parts of the world. Even among the sober historians their narrative has at whiles the style of romance.³ Unscrupulous travelers who returned home after years of wandering no doubt found willing ears for their biggest tales, and so Cervantes must unquestionably have taken the accounts about the northern countries which he describes in the *Persiles* from possible eyewitnesses without the necessary grain of salt.⁴ In what, then, could Cervantes' story of

¹ Cf. Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1854), Vol. II, p. 29.

² Cf. the *werwolf* incident, chap. 8 of Book I, pp. 571 ff., and chap. 18, pp. 583 ff. and the episode of the capsized boat, chap. 2 of Book II, pp. 591 ff. I shall speak of Cervantes' apparent amusement over the extravagant possibilities of his romance, when I treat of his conception of fiction.

³ Cf. Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia de la Florida* (1605), which is a history of the conquest of Florida written in the spirit of a romance of chivalry, or a story of Moorish conquest.

⁴ The increase in commercial relations between southern Europe and the countries of the far North was a steady one after the rise of the mercantile class in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in addition to the information brought home by merchants, how-

adventure have been influenced by the romances of chivalry? Perhaps here and there his way of stringing together adventures was prompted by his remembrance of the many tales which he had read years before. While, therefore, the mannerism of the latter may have left a trace, nevertheless of the spirit and principles of the age of chivalry there is nowhere the slightest sign. The chaste love and lofty ideals which characterize Cervantes' hero and heroine are part of the *invencion* taken over from the Greek romance; inasmuch as they form the principles upon which the *Persiles* was founded, they could not be greatly modified, no matter how far the romance deviated from the prototype which inspired it. But in spite of the wide breach which separates the romances of chivalry from the *Persiles*, we must not lose sight of the continuity which characterizes the transmission of the *roman d'aventure* from ancient times through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The *Persiles* is a descendant—in a greatly modified form—of a type which flourished intermittently in Byzantine literature (inspired by the Greek romances), in mediæval French literature (where we find the loves and adventures of devoted couples described, as in *Floire et Blanchefleur*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Partenopeus de Blois*, etc.),¹ and in the offspring of the latter class, the romance of chivalry, which flourished notably in Spain. While, then, it is logical to place the *Persiles* in the genre of adventure after the stories of *Amadis*, nevertheless it must be remembered, in the first place, that Cervantes' novel stands without the pale of any direct influence from the romances of chivalry, as these were no longer in keeping with the spirit of the Renaissance; second, that it was subject to the influence of the contemporary love-story, affected in its turn by the Italian *novella* and the revived Greek romance; and, third, to the correcting influence of contemporary realism reflected from the rogue-story. If, therefore, a comparison between the romances ever, other sources of knowledge were the foreign pilgrims who visited Spanish shrines, or the soldiers who returned from campaigns in distant lands. Cf. Gabriel Marcel, "Les origines de la carte d'Espagne," *Revue hispanique*, Vol. VI, p. 164; Konrad Häßler, *Die wirtschaftliche Blüthe Spaniens im sechzehnten Jahrhundert und ihr Verfall* (Berlin, 1888), chap. 4, "Industrie und Handel;" H. F. Helmolt, *History of the World*, Vol. VII, Part I, Western Europe, chap. 1 (New York, 1902).

¹Cf. Gaston Paris, "Le roman d'aventure," *Cosmopolis*, September, 1898, pp. 760 ff.; as well as, *La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 81 ff.

of chivalry and the *Persiles* is admissible, it is so only because both are loosely constructed stories of adventure; and even then the comparison holds only with the first half of the *Persiles*, which has an imaginary world as a background, while the second part moves entirely among known customs and peoples. As regards occasional episodes, an examination of all the books of chivalry known to Cervantes would probably bring to light more resemblances than I have been able to find hitherto. But the tendency to detect these with frequency must be guarded against until substantiated by a more thorough investigation.

But there were other serious works which Ticknor overlooked, and with which Cervantes was acquainted as one is with all standard creations which form part of one's education and blood. First, there were the Greek and Latin classics; and if we examine the *Persiles*, we shall detect an occasional reminiscence from them, and among the first from the great Latin *roman d'aventure*, the *Aeneid*. Herein also we have as the main theme manifold experience of travel by land and sea, a machinery of adventure in the germ, which had come down from Homer and which, by growing with the succeeding ages, had been incorporated in various guises into many a literary creation before the epoch of Cervantes.¹ The influence of the machinery of adventure, specifically emanating from the *Aeneid*, had therefore grown to be a potent, even though frequently a rather indirect, factor in the long career of the *roman d'aventure*. In the case of the *Persiles*, however, the influence of the *Aeneid* is marked, and quite direct, and will therefore be treated in a separate chapter. It is, of course, not likely that the theme of adventure would be exhausted by a writer of the Renaissance without ample reminiscences from other ancient works, and this will be shown to be the fact in a treatment of some of Cervantes' classical sources.

Apart from the classics, however, Cervantes could have found further suggestions for the make-up of a *libro de entretenimiento*

¹ In these earliest stories of adventure, such as the *Odyssey*, "Sinbad the Sailor" (probably of ancient Indian or Persian origin; cf. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, pp. 191 ff.), and the *Aeneid*, the theme of love plays only an insignificant rôle compared with the action of the whole, into which it only enters from time to time. In the case of the *Aeneid*, however, it is noteworthy that the occasional episodes in which love plays an important part leave the strongest impression, and they certainly affected the writers of the Renaissance most.

of the adventure type, among the novelists of his own people and century. There was, for instance, the *Peregrino en su patria*,¹ by Lope de Vega, published only some ten years before the *Persiles*, and belonging to the same kind of story, though of a lower degree in the quality of imagination betrayed. For it is also the history of a young couple who reach their goal only after numerous shipwrecks, miraculous escapes, and strange chance reunions. Indeed, Lope may have taken his theme from Heliodorus as well as Cervantes; only he did not say so, and consequently any possible similarity has been overlooked. In addition to the serious vein of the *Peregrino*, there was the lighter and more realistic rogue-story, notably the various parts of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Guzman de Alfarache*, which represent a type of adventure story the spirit of which is reflected in no small part of the works of Cervantes. To what extent the adventure genre in Spanish was influenced by Moorish tales—which Cervantes must have known better than anyone else, owing to his long and forced sojourn in an oriental environment—is more difficult to determine; yet the Moors, not only of Africa, but those of Andalusia also, probably narrated stories of travel and adventure after the manner of "Sinbad's Voyages," and other tales incorporated into the *Arabian Nights*.² Moreover, the numerous contemporary histories about the various voyages of discovery are of value in a

¹Cf. Groeber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1897), chapter by Baist, on Spanish Literature, p. 461, par. 62.

²That the close contact of oriental and Christian civilizations in Spain during many centuries was of enormous influence upon the latter, must be evident to everyone acquainted with Spain and her history. It is manifest even today, in many peculiarities of her social and family life that such was the case. In the field of fiction, however, the residue of Moorish influence is most difficult to determine, because of the complete lack of satisfactory documentary evidence. Most writers of authority are consequently agreed in believing in the communication of a large number of oriental stories through oral transmission, from earliest times through the Renaissance. Cf. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt (London, 1871), Vol. II, p. 108; Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber* (Stuttgart, 1877), Vol. II, chaps. 13 and 14; Aug. Müller, "Die Märchen 1001 Nacht," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. LII (1887), p. 92; Gast. Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 81, 111; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de crítica literaria, 2a serie* (Madrid, 1896), "Influencias semíticas," pp. 391 ff.; Joseph Bédier, *Les fabliaux, étude de littérature populaire*, etc. (Paris, 1893), Introduction; on the versions of a single tale carried by Arabs into Spain and thence into France, Gaston Paris, *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, p. 325. The main difficulty, however, lies not only in establishing the character of the original germs of stories, but in finding the time as well as the channels of their transmission from one people to another. The ways by which oriental tales and bits of folklore could penetrate into Europe were many. Take, for example, the story of "Sinbad the Sailor." If we are to adopt Rohde's view (p. 20, n. 1), here is a tale which might have come from India through a Persian intermediary into

study of Cervantes' learning, and appear to have formed a part, small though it be, of the source which inspired the *Persiles*. Thus much then may be said in behalf of some additional guides, especially for the outline of the *Persiles*. As regards the large body of material which Cervantes gleaned from everywhere to fill out the framework of his story of adventure, its numerous sources will be discussed in due time.

Finally, the verdict of Ticknor can be summed up in a general disapprobation, qualified by a measure of praise for the astonishing imagination displayed by Cervantes in this romance of his old age, for an occasional graceful story, "amidst the multitude with which this wild work is crowded," and finally, as usual, for the careful finish of the style. When all is said and done, therefore, Ticknor hardly advances the study of the *Persiles* much beyond the position in which it was left by his predecessors. He mentions, with his customary sobriety, some of the apparent characteristics of the romance, but he fails to see that the *Persiles* is an inexhaustible source from which may be derived valuable biographical details, hints about the nature of Cervantes' travel experiences, his manifold reading, his final attitude on various subjects, either of a literary, political, or social nature—all of which is so indispensable in the study of his peculiar type of genius.

Since Ticknor's day nothing has been done which makes for a worthier appreciation of the *Persiles*.¹ If we were to select, among latter-day books on Cervantes, one read with some frequency, in the hope that it, at least, might present something

Greece, whence it would be easy to believe that the whole or a part could have been carried into Europe at various periods of the Middle Ages. It was also adopted into Arabic literature, and might have been communicated by the Arabs to their neighbors in southern Italy and Sicily, or to the Spaniards in the Peninsula. No early Spanish version, however, of either the *Arabian Nights* or Sinbad's travels has yet been discovered, while such works as I have been able to consult (mentioned in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des œuvres arabes* [Liège, 1903], Vol. VII, pp. 1 ff.) say nothing satisfactory on this interesting question of Sinbad's travels and their influence in European literature. Cf. also Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 568, 578.

¹ To give an example of the persistence with which his opinions are copied by those who know nothing of Spanish at first hand, mention may be made of a study by Michael Oeffering, printed in Vol. XVIII of the *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, herausg. von Schick und Walberg (Berlin, 1901). In this uncritical work, entitled "Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur," a few pages are devoted to the Spanish side of the question (pp. 101 ff.), but without any originality whatsoever, for all that is said of the *Persiles* is taken almost verbatim from Ticknor and Bouterwek, or Wolff's *Geschichte des Romans*. H. Koerting, *Geschichte des französischen Romans im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Oppeln und Leipzig, 1891), Vol. I, p. 25, says practically what Bouterwek had said. In the latest edition of his history

worthy of so important an effort as the *Persiles*, the biography of Cervantes by Henry Edward Watts would perhaps suggest itself first; for it is a work written by one who has devotedly given many years to the study and translation of the Spanish novelist. How does Watts view the *Persiles* after a lapse of three hundred years, in whose long perspective the romance has had the time to find its proper place? The biographer of Cervantes¹ begins with the uncritical statement that "of the works about which in his last days Cervantes showed so much anxiety, all but one have perished, probably without any great loss to the author's reputation." Without discussing the difference between reputation, or popularity—in which sense the word is used here—and ultimate position in literature, which is but the measure of immortality granted to the children of fame, one may ask how the latter can be duly meted out, and the true place of a great man be established, if we are willing to overlook such works of his as have had no sustained popularity. Watts continues: "written in Cervantes' old age, [the *Persiles*] bears on its face but too palpable traces of its birth. The only interest it has is a pathetic one, rather personal than literary." And yet no work of Cervantes shows a more vigorous gift of imagination; none, according to all critics, including Watts himself, displays a greater finish in style, and only the *Don Quixote* has an interest, specifically literary, of greater value than the *Persiles*. Or are we, indeed, to look upon it as the last "pathetic" performance of a doddering old man? We hear, furthermore, that "the story is in professed imitation of the *Theagenes* and *Chariklea*," and that "it is only just to say that it is equal to its model—quite as dull and tedious." We are told also that the book is a return to the style of artificial romance which Cervantes had exploded in the *Don Quixote*, since it deals

of Spanish literature in French (*Littérature espagnole*, par J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly; traduction de H.-D. Davray; Paris, 1904) Mr. F.-K. says, speaking of the *Galatea*: "sauf peut-être dans le *Persiles y Sigismunda* Cervantes n'écrivit jamais avec un plus conscient effort vers la perfection" (p. 228); and of the *Persiles* he says: "cette œuvre de manière et de visées ambitieuses n'a pas réussi à intéresser malgré ses aventures et ses boutades," etc. (p. 249). Cf. also English edition (New York, 1898), pp. 219, 240.

¹ *Miguel de Cervantes: His Life and Works*, by Henry Edward Watts; a new edition, revised and enlarged (London: Ad. and Ch. Black, 1895), pp. 221 ff. The review of the book in the *Revue hispanique* for the same year is by Fitzmaurice-Kelly and, while just, is somewhat severe.

with a life that was never led, by people who could not exist,¹ and several other sweeping generalities, the modicum of the truth of which is concealed or distorted by a failure to see the virtues or the shortcomings of the *Persiles* in their proper relations with the age, as well as the genre of romance in the midst of which it grew. Watts closes by expressing his astonishment that this most insipid of Cervantes' works should have come from the same hand which wrote *Don Quixote*—a circumstance almost incredible, "had we not ample proof of the extraordinary range and diversity of his powers."²

In view of the monotonous repetitions of the criticisms already given, it would be of no value to add to their generalities the opinions of various Spanish writers³ whose uncritical enthusiasm for *Don Quixote* has left no room for any scholarly consideration of the literary importance of the *Persiles*. A résumé of what has been said and done to further an adequate appreciation of the last long work of Cervantes, tells us hardly more, therefore, than that it is at best an imitation of Heliodorus written in a polished style, while the most unfavorable verdict would seem to call it a gratuitous contribution to a type of romance which had long before seen its day. Consequently, to one who realizes the innumerable elements which must have contributed to the make-up of the mind of a Cervantes, it cannot but appear unusually strange that any knowledge whatsoever, which can aid us to understand the genius of the foremost of Spaniards, should have been so persistently disregarded.

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¹ Watts, for example, laughs at Cervantes for giving the name "Mauricio" (Maurice) to a family sprung "from an island in the neighborhood of Ibernia" (p. 577 of the *Persiles*). If we make due allowance, however, for a wholly fictitious romance, in which all characters go under an absurd nomenclature, Spanish as well as foreign, the name "Mauricio" is not bad for an Irishman. Cervantes, no doubt, had heard of James Fitzmaurice, among others of that name, Count Desmond's nephew, who perished (1579) in the Irish Rebellion in which Philip II of Spain played an important part. Cf. Hume, *Españoles e Ingleses en el siglo xvi* (Madrid and London, 1903), pp. 23 ff. Cf. also *Dictionary of National Biography* under "James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald;" incidentally it will become evident from this article how common the name "Maurice" was in that family.

² The latest life of Cervantes, the monstrous tome of D. Ramón L. Mainez, *Cervantes y su época* (Jerez y Madrid, 1901-3; huge 4to), is a specimen of the more unfortunate type. This ponderous work is an *indigesta moles*, of little scientific value, in which authentic documents alternate with uncontrolled bursts of extravagant praise. Especially from Vol. III of the *Bibliografía crítica, op. cit.*, by Rius may be gathered how few and how unimportant are the criticisms and opinions which have been expressed on the *Persiles* during several centuries. Cf. especially pp. 64, 46, 59, 107, 140, 307, 332, 395.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF "SIR GYLES GOOSECAPPE"

Sir Gyles Goosecappe was entered on the Stationers' Registers on January 10, 1605/6 to Edward Blount with the proviso that it "be printed according to the copy whereat Master Wilson's hand is at," an entry that strongly suggests a revision of the acted play before it was licensed for publication.¹ It was published anonymously by Blount later in 1606, and was reprinted in 1636 by Hugh Perry. Perry prefixed to this second edition an elaborate dedication to "the Worshipfull Richard Young of Wooleyfarme in the County of Berks, Esq.," in which he declared that the author, whose name he did not mention, and perhaps did not know, was no longer living. The play does not seem to have been particularly well known, and apparently was never reprinted from 1636 until 1884, when it appeared in the third volume of *A Collection of Old English Plays*, edited by A. H. Bullen. In his introduction to *Sir Gyles* Mr. Bullen suggested that the unknown author was probably a student of Chapman, and pointed out the close similarity of a passage in *Sir Gyles*, III, ii (p. 53) to one occurring in Strozza's speech to his wife in *The Gentleman Usher* (IV, i; p. 100, Shepherd's edition). Mr. Bullen held that the anonymous author had either seen *The Gentleman Usher* (first printed in 1606) in MS or had inserted the passage in question in a revision of *Sir Gyles*, which an evident allusion to Queen Elizabeth (I, i; p. 12) shows to have been composed before her death in 1603. In either case Mr. Bullen assumes that the phrase appeared for the first time in *The Gentleman Usher*.

The proof-sheets of Mr. Bullen's *Collection* were seen by Mr. Fleay before the book was published, and in a letter to the *Athenaeum* under the date of June 9, 1883, the latter suggested that *Sir Gyles* was the work of Chapman himself, and not of an imitator. The substance of this letter was reprinted by Mr. Bullen in a note appended to his edition of *Sir Gyles* (Vol. III; pp. 93, 94). He admits the resemblance to Chapman's style in certain

¹ *Vide Fleay, English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 322.

parts of the play, but holds that the likeness is stronger in the serious than in the comic scenes, and thinks it "curious that, if Chapman was the author, his name did not appear on the title-page of the second edition." If, as I have already suggested, the publisher were ignorant of the author's name, this omission is, of course, accounted for.

In his *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891 (Vol. II, pp. 322, 323), Mr. Fleay repeated his assertion that the play was by Chapman, and fixed the date in 1601 after Biron's visit to England early in September in that year. He goes on, however, to admit that the allusion in III, i (pp. 42, 43) by which he fixes this date may be to a later visit of "French gallants" mentioned by Chamberlain, April 26, 1602. When making this admission, Mr. Fleay apparently forgot that in the first volume of this work (*Biographical Chronicle*, Vol. I, p. 58) he had stated that *The Gentleman Usher*, "probably acted in the Christmas season of 1601-2," was certainly later than *Sir Gyles*. The certainty rests upon the fact, unmentioned, though probably noticed, by Mr. Fleay, that in *The Gentleman Usher* (II, i; p. 85) Bassiolo calls a stupid servant "Sir Giles Goosecap," with evident reference to the foolish hero of the like-named play. "Goosecap" was a not uncommon Elizabethan term for a fool,¹ but the alliterative combination "Sir Gyles Goosecap" occurs, so far as I am aware, only in the play of that name and in this passage in *The Gentleman Usher*.

Mr. Fleay goes on to say that *The Gentleman Usher* was "as certainly before Marston's *Malcontent*." But since he himself in his treatment of Marston fixes the date of this play between October, 1600, and October, 1601 (Vol. II, p. 78), it is plain that if *The Gentleman Usher* were earlier than the *Malcontent*, it cannot have been acted for the first time in the Christmas season of 1601-2. As a matter of fact, there is no connection between the two plays; for Mr. Fleay's attempt to establish such a connection by pointing out a similarity of names, Bilioso in *The Malcontent* and Bassiolo in Chapman's play, and by calling atten-

¹See Nash, *Martin's Month's Mind*, p. 45; Dekker, *Gull's Horn-book* ("Temple Classics," p. 26); Ford, *Fancies Chaste and Noble*, IV, i.

tion to the fact that the former character remarks (III, i) that a gentleman usher called him a coxcomb, whereas the latter, a gentleman usher, is called a coxcomb (*Gentleman Usher*, III, i, p. 95 and IV, i, p. 104), carries no conviction whatever.

All that we can affirm, then, of *The Gentleman Usher* is that it is later than *Sir Gyles*; i. e., after September, 1601, and before its entry in the Stationers' Registers under the title of *Vincentio and Margaret*, November 26, 1605. It is there entered by Valentine Syms, the V. S. who, as the title-page declares, printed *The Gentleman Usher* for Thomas Thorppe.

To return to the authorship of *Sir Gyles*: Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, p. 412, n. 1) notices the statements of Bullen and Fleay without giving his own opinion, and Professor Kittredge (*Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, p. 10, note) accepts without discussion the ascription of the play to Chapman. So far as I know, this exhausts the literature existing upon this subject.

Sir Gyles Goosecappe is by no means a comedy of remarkable merit, and the student of Elizabethan drama might, perhaps, content himself with the more or less positive ascriptions of this play to Chapman, were it not for the bearing that it has, in case its authorship is demonstrably his, upon that poet's life and development as a dramatist. If the play can be shown to belong to Chapman, as I believe it can, it will connect him with a company of actors for whom he is not so far known to have written, i. e., the Children of the Chapel (see title-page of *Sir Gyles*); it will assign at least one piece of dramatic composition to a period (1599 to 1605) when he is generally supposed to have been wholly occupied with his work on Homer,¹ and it will furnish a rather curious first sketch of certain scenes in one of his finest romantic comedies, *The Gentleman Usher*. Moreover, it will serve to link Chapman's early work for Henslowe with his later dramas, and will exhibit him as a student of the dramatic methods of Llyl and Ben Jonson. It seems to me, therefore, that *Sir Gyles*, if not on its own account, yet for Chapman's sake, deserves a closer study than it has so far received.

¹ See article in *Dictionary of National Biography* by Bullen, and Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, p. 410.

The external evidence for Chapman's authorship has been summed up by Mr. Fleay in his letter to the *Athenaeum* and in his *Chronicle of the English Drama*. He points out that, since *Sir Gyles* was produced by the Children of the Chapel, it must date between 1599 and 1601,¹ probably as its allusion to Biron's visit shows, late in 1601. Now, the only known authors writing for this company in 1601, and dead before 1636, are Marston, Middleton, and Chapman, and of these Chapman is the only possible author of the play, since the evidence of style is clearly against either of the other two. The play shows marked traces of Jonson's influence, and Chapman, as we know, worked on a plot of Benjamin's for Henslowe, and² collaborated with him in the composition of *Eastward Hoe*.

This evidence seems to me rather suggestive than conclusive; but the internal evidence is much stronger. Since the play is little known, and Bullen's *Collection*, in which it appears, a comparatively rare book, it may be worth while to preface an examination of this evidence by a brief account of the play.

It opens with a dialogue between three waggish pages of the type that Lyly had fixed, especially in plays written for boy-actors. The purpose of the dialogue is to give a description of some of the chief characters in the play. This preliminary introduction is a well-known device of Jonson's, and had been used by him before the date of *Sir Gyles* in *Cynthia's Revels*, II, i.³ The second scene is a dialogue between three knights whose "humors" in speech and manner mark the play as a drama of social satire—a form which Jonson was already exploiting. In the third scene the pages trick the knights into a fool's errand to meet the ladies early next day at Barnet. The fourth scene introduces the main action, a romantic love-comedy, which as Professor Kittredge has shown, is largely an adaptation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseide* to the Elizabethan stage.

The second act consists of but one scene, which treats first of

¹This should be 1603, I think, when this company was succeeded at Blackfriars by the Children of Her Majesty's Revels.

²Marston was also a collaborator in this play, but there is not a trace of his peculiar and strongly marked style in *Sir Gyles*.

³Acted by the Chapel Children in 1600.

Momford's appeal to his niece, Eugenia, in behalf of Clarence—a passage closely modeled after Chaucer's account of the first visit of Pandarus to Cryseide—and then of a dialogue between Eugenia and her ladies on the one side, and some fresh visitors on the other, in which the talents of Sir Gyles, a suitor for one of the ladies, are humorously extolled.

The first scene of the third act opens at Barnet, where the deluded knights talk much "besides the matter," especially Sir Gyles, who speaks "as backward still as if a crabfish had bitten him by the tongue." The pages meet them, persuade them that their disappointment was planned by the ladies as a test of their love and patience, and tell them of a great supper at Lord Furnifall's house to which the ladies are invited. The knights resolve to attend, not only to see the ladies, but to divert themselves with the "drinking humor" of Lady Furnifall, who "is never in any sociable veine till she be typsie." It is worth noting that Lady Furnifall does not appear in the list of characters, and that no such scene as we are here led to expect occurs in the play. Possibly it may have had a personal reference which led to its omission when the play was revised for publication. In the second scene Clarence composes, with the aid of music, a letter to his lady, and discusses with Momford the nature and influence of woman. The scene is written in stately blank verse, marred here and there by a touch of pedantry, but rising at times to a dignity of both thought and expression that is eminently characteristic of Chapman. Mr. Fleay holds, indeed, that it is quite impossible to doubt the authorship of such a passage as the first speech of Clarence in this scene.

The fourth act opens at Eugenia's house, where, after a bit of easy, though not particularly witty, dialogue, Momford appears bearing Clarence's letter. In a scene of considerable comic power he inveigles Eugenia into writing an answer in which she promises to marry Clarence, and then, like Pandarus in Chaucer's poem, invites her to stop at his house. To the objection that he may be plotting to bring her together with Clarence he answers by assuring her that his friend is "extreame sick and cannot come abroade." The second scene, at Lord Furnifall's house, is strik-

ingly deficient in action; I take it that the scene of Lady Furnifall's drinking humor occurred here and has been struck out. The third scene is a dialogue between Clarence and Momford, remarkable only for the former's paradoxical defense of ladies' painting. At the close of the scene Momford informs his friend that Eugenia is coming to supper, and begs him to feign sickness, and then, while apparently unaware of her presence, to "speak that which may make her flie into his opened armes."

The first scene of the fifth act is laid at Momford's house. Sir Gyles displays his skill in needlework and his folly in speech before his mistress, and Momford praises Clarence in a speech of "eloquent but somewhat strained language," in which even at first reading Mr. Bullen saw a likeness to Chapman's style. The long second scene concludes the play. Clarence tells the doctor of his love and reverence for Eugenia; she overhears him and takes an opportunity, without Momford's knowledge, to confess to Clarence that she returns his love and to betroth herself to him. In the midst of an outburst of Momford's on the levity of women Eugenia reveals herself and receives his blessing and his announcement that Clarence is the heir to his earldom. The play ends with the bestowal of Eugenia's ladies upon Sir Gyles and one of his friends, while the other, Captain Foulweather, is crowned with a willow garland.

Every student of Chapman is familiar with his repetitions, not merely of words and phrases, but of similes, incidents, and situations. If, therefore, in a play whose authorship may be assigned to him on external grounds, we find a remarkable number of such coincidences, the possibility becomes a probability—as strong a probability as we can attain in matters of this sort where mathematical certainty is, by the nature of things, impossible. Even in my brief sketch of *Sir Gyles* some of the analogies to Chapman's known plays have been pointed out. It remains to make an investigation of the play on this basis. I quote, referring to pages in Bullen's *Collection* and in Shepherd's *Works of Chapman—Plays*.

Bullen, p. 21: Jack says, after playing a trick on the knights: "Here's a most sweet gudgeon swallowed."

Chapman, p. 62: Rinaldo says, when proposing to play a trick on Marc Antonio: "Do you think he'll swallow down the gudgeon?"

Bullen, p. 28: With Momford and Wynnifred's joke, "hose about your heeles," cf. Poggio's dream in *The Gentleman Usher*, p. 78.

Bullen, p. 29: With the stage direction, "Enter Wynnifred, *Anabell with their sewing workes and sing*," cf. the directions in *All Fooles*, p. 58, "Enter *Gazetta sewing*," and below, "*Gazetta sits and sings sewing*."¹

The word "Eternesse," apparently a coinage of Chapman's (see *New English Dictionary*), appears Bullen, p. 29, and in *Byron's Tragedy*, p. 269.

Bullen, pp. 30 and 32: The ejaculations, "God's pity" and "God's precious," unknown to Shakespeare, are of repeated occurrence in *The Gentleman Usher* (pp. 98, 103, 105 (*bis*), 106, 108).

Bullen, p. 30: The rare word "mankindelie" = "cruelly," of which this instance alone is given in the *N. E. D.*, may be compared with Chapman's use of "mankinde" (*All Fools*, p. 69, where Shepherd quite unwarrantably alters to "unkind," *Gentleman Usher*, p. 96, also altered by Shepherd). The use of "mankinde" as an adjective meaning "cruel" is not unknown in the Elizabethan English; *N. E. D.* gives instances from *Ralph Royster Doyster*, *The Scourge of Villany*, and *The City Madam*. But it is infrequent enough to attract our attention, and its repeated use in *All Fools* and *The Gentleman Usher* is analogous, at least, to the use of the corresponding "mankindelie" in *Sir Gyles*.

Bullen, p. 31: The stage direction, *He daunceth speaking*, reminds one of a somewhat similar direction, *He untrusses and capers*, in *All Fools*, p. 60. The situations, to be sure, are by no means the same. It may be, however, that the same actor took the parts of Momford and Valerio at the Blackfriars, and that this direction was inserted to give him a chance to do a "dancing turn." There seems to be no particular reason in *Sir Gyles* why Momford should dance in this particular scene.

Bullen, p. 39: Lord Tales's remark on Sir Gyles, "He has an excellent skill in all manners of perfumes, and if you will bring

¹Cf. also a direction in *Eastward Hoe* (Shepherd, p. 453).

him gloves frō forty pence, to forty shillings a paire, he will tell you the price of them to two pence," has an exact parallel in *All Fools*, p. 72:

[Dariotto] can tell ye
 That there is not in the whole Rialto
 One pair of gloves pretty or well perfumed,
 And from a pair of gloves of half-a-crown
 To twenty crowns, will to a very scute
 Smell out the price.

Bullen, p. 51:

Ill power my poor soule forth
 In floods of ink:

Cf. *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad VI, ll. 139, 140:

In floods of ink
 Must droun thy graces.

Bullen, p. 53: Momford's speech in defense of women has certain resemblances, though not very close, in diction to Valerio's defense of love (*All Fools*, p. 100). The striking similarity between Momford's phrase "sweete apes of humaine soules" and Strozza's "in all things his [man's] sweet ape" (*Gentleman Usher*, p. 100) was pointed out by Mr. Bullen. Even apart from this I believe no student of Chapman can read this speech of Momford's without feeling that it is in the same vein and by the same hand as Strozza's speech.

Bullen, pp. 71, 72: Clarence's defense of women's practice of painting their faces is a paradox very much in Chapman's manner. No Elizabethan dramatist took such delight in expressing opinions which ran counter to the conventions of his day. He represented the hated Duke of Guise as a hero in *The Revenge for Bussy*, and put a defense of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew into the mouth of the main hero of that play. He defends the practice of dueling in *Bussy D'Ambois* (pp. 148, 149), of pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, and of hanging votive offerings at their shrines in the *Gentleman Usher* (p. 10). The involved and labored style of Clarence's speech is quite as markedly in Chapman's manner as is its paradoxical turn of thought.

Bullen, p. 78: Hippolita's speech beginning, "Respect, my Lord," expresses an idea, common enough in Chapman, that the man who is sufficient unto himself is greater than a king. This conception of the stoical hero is worked out in detail in the figure of Clermont in *The Revenge for Bussy*. Bullen has noted the likeness to Chapman in Momford's speech at the foot of this page. The last lines of this speech,

Then wood my friend be something, but till then
A cipher, nothing or the worst of men,

bear a distinct likeness to the first speech of Monsieur in *Bussy* (p. 141):

There is no second place in numerous state
That holds more than a cipher.

The use of the word "cipher," i. e., "zero," to denote a man of no importance is alike in both passages.

Enough has been said, I believe, to show the striking likeness between *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* and undoubted plays of Chapman. There remains, however, a special likeness between *Sir Gyles* and *The Gentleman Usher*. Mr. Bullen holds that the likeness of *Sir Gyles* to Chapman's work is stronger in the serious than in the comic scenes. More easily discernible, perhaps, for Chapman seems, to me at least, more individual in his elevated but somewhat cumbrous verse than in the racy and fluent prose which he shares with so many of his contemporary dramatists. But I have pointed out two distinct parallels to Chapman's work in the comic scenes of *Sir Gyles*; and I would further call attention to the close similarity in humor, if so it may be called, between the character of Sir Gyles himself and that of Poggio in *The Gentleman Usher*. Both are foolish, prattling busybodies; but the mark they have in common—a mark which distinguishes them from the ordinary run of Elizabethan clowns—is an ingenious faculty of putting the cart before the horse in speech. Compare, for example, Poggio's account of the attempted murder of Vincentio (*Gentleman Usher*, p. 107), with Sir Gyles's talk about horses (Bullen, pp. 41, 42). A single instance of this sort is, of course, of little value in itself, but ridiculous talk of this peculiar kind is put in the mouth of these two characters steadily and

consistently in each play. And, what is more important, their fellow-characters in each case notice and comment on it. Strozzi calls Poggio "cousin Hysteron Proteron" (*Gentleman Usher*, p. 78), and Rudesby says to Sir Gyles: "I lay my life some crabfish has bitten thee by the tongue, thou speakest so backward still" (Bullen, p. 42).

Possibly, if we possessed *Sir Gyles* in its original and unrevised form, a still more striking similarity to *The Gentleman Usher* might be pointed out. I have already spoken of the apparent fact that a scene containing the "drinking humor" of Lady Furnifall was struck out in the copy of the former play which was licensed for publication. Every reader of Chapman will remember the grotesque scenes in *The Gentleman Usher* in which Corteza's "humor of the cup" is portrayed. They constitute an unhappy blot upon Chapman's most poetic and romantic comedy, and serve no purpose whatever save to tickle the groundlings. Is it not a fair supposition that a scene in *Sir Gyles* which had proved its value as a laugh-raiser, but which had been struck out on account of its personal satire, real or alleged, was later incorporated in *The Gentleman Usher*, and assigned then to a character in whom not even the sharpest censor's eye could discover a personal allusion? It is further worth noting, I think, that Lady Furnifall is described (Bullen, p. 47) as "never in any sociable veine till she be typsie, for in her sobriety she is mad," i. e., bad-tempered. Corteza in *The Gentleman Usher* is in her sober moments a malignant shrew; in her intoxication she is most affable, not to say amorous. Again, Lord Furnifall is said to "make his wife drunk and then dote on her humour," exactly as Poggio (p. 92) makes Corteza drunk, and calls her behavior "the best sport." The jest does not strike us as in particularly good taste, but Chapman, as his earliest play, *The Blind Beggar*, shows, was by no means scrupulous in his devices for raising a laugh, and drunkenness has been a favorite theme of the comic writer from the days of Aristophanes to those of Dickens.

In the higher comedy, as opposed to the farcical scenes of *Sir Gyles*, there is, as Mr. Fleay has pointed out, a striking similarity between the scene in which Momford brings a love-letter to

Eugenia and writes an answer at her dictation (*Sir Gyles*, IV, i), and the scene in which Bassiolo performs the same offices for Margaret (*Gentleman Usher*, III, i). The similarity might perhaps be called a likeness in difference. In the one Momford overrules the lady, and alters and enlarges the letter at his pleasure; in the other the deluded Bassiolo is made the veriest butt of his sharp-witted mistress. Yet it is impossible to read the two scenes in connection without feeling that the second is a variation of, and in comic force an immense improvement upon, the first. Here, as elsewhere, I believe, Chapman worked over a bit of *Sir Gyles* for his later play. It is worth noting that another comic scene in which the dictation of a love-letter (in this case a practical joke) plays a main part is found in another of Chapman's plays, *Monsieur D'Olive*, IV, i.

The testimony, it seems to me, is fairly convincing that *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* is a play of Chapman's, and when in due time we obtain a critical and definitive edition of this neglected dramatist, it might well be included among his plays, even if it should oust such more than doubtful compositions as *Alphonsus* or *Revenge for Honour*.

Assuming, then, the fact of Chapman's authorship of *Sir Gyles*, we find him, about two years after his last recorded connection with Henslowe, writing for the Chapel Children. His connection with this company is the more likely since his friend Jonson was at this time their leading playwright, composing for them, among other comedies, the *Poetaster*, in which Chapman was lauded under the transparent disguise of Virgil.¹ It was probably for this company also that Chapman wrote *May-Day*, which, although not printed till 1611, must have been composed early in the century, as is shown by its parody of a passage in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, acted ca. 1600. Such a parody would be effective only so long as the original passage was fresh in the minds of the audience. If *May-Day* was acted at Blackfriars, as the title-page tells us, and before 1603, it must have been acted by the Chapel Children. It was by the successors of this company, the

¹ In spite of Mr. Lee's attempt to identify Virgil with Shakespeare (*Life of Shakespeare* p. 218, note), I hold this to be fairly well established.

Children of Her Majesty's Revels, that *All Fools* was acted at the same theater and at court on January 1, 1605.¹ *Monsieur D'Olive* and *Eastward Hoe* were acted by the same company, and it is a fair guess that *The Gentleman Usher*, in regard to whose production we know nothing, was also brought out by them. It is plain, I think, if *Sir Gyles*, *May-Day*, and *Eastward Hoe* were written, and *All Fools* revised for the Blackfriars companies between 1599 and 1605, that we must reject the notion of Chapman's having withdrawn from the stage at this time to devote himself to the translation of Homer. And, in fact, there is not the slightest ground for this assertion. Chapman's work on Homer began to appear at a time when he was busily engaged with Henslowe; the *First Seven Books of Homer's Iliad* and *Achilles' Shield* were published in 1598.² His next fragment of Homeric translation, the first twelve books, was not published till 1609-10, when he was under the patronage of Prince Henry —a patronage which probably relieved him from the necessity of writing for the stage, and allowed him to devote himself wholly to his studies. That Chapman, when once engaged upon this work, translated at almost an incredible speed, we know from his own statement, "that less than fifteen weeks was the time in which all the last twelve books were entirely new translated." ("Preface to the Reader" in *The Iliads of Homer*, 1611). It is, therefore, quite unnecessary to suppose him plunged in Homeric studies between 1599 and 1605, without producing any results of these until 1610.

Finally, *Sir Gyles* shows Chapman's first attempt at a form of mingled farce and romantic comedy in which he was to achieve such notable results as the *Gentleman Usher* and *Monsieur D'Olive*. His earliest work for Henslowe, was, if we may judge from the two plays of this period which are preserved, *The Blind Beggar* and *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, crude enough. It was lively and vigorous, but lacked almost entirely the breath of

¹This latter fact we owe to an entry in the Revels Accounts, published by Cunningham for the Shakespeare Society. The entry, indeed, is a forgery, but it is supposed to be based upon a genuine document used by Malone.

²Fleay holds that this work on Homer was done before Chapman began to write plays (*English Drama*, Vol. I, p. 52).

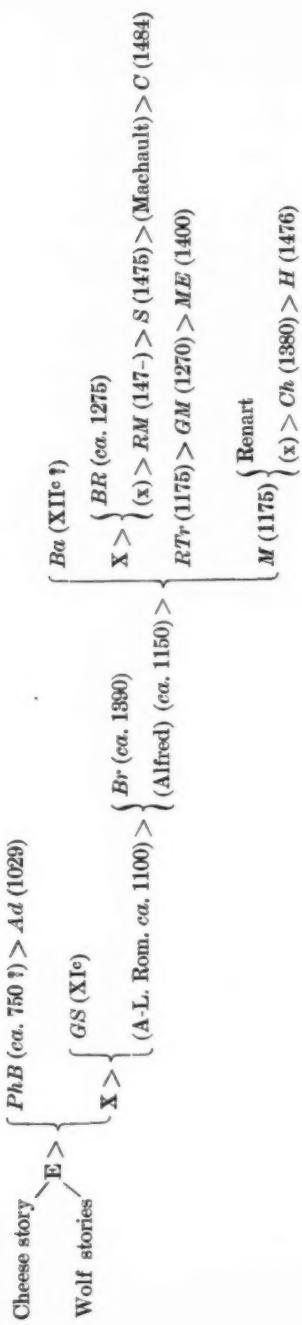
poetry and the note of romance that marks the three comedies just mentioned. And if *Sir Gyles* is weak in construction and notably deficient in action, this is no argument against Chapman's authorship.¹ His best-constructed plays are *All Fools* and *May-Day*, adaptations from Latin and Italian comedy, and *Eastward Hoe*, in which he was assisted by that master of dramatic architecture, Ben Jonson. And the lack of action in *Sir Gyles* may well be due to Chapman's uncertainty as to what would please the more refined and critical audience of the private theater for whom he had deserted the mob that packed Henslowe's theater to applaud such boisterous farce as *The Blind Beggar*. *Sir Gyles* is not Chapman's first play, but it is his first work in a style of composition in which he later gained distinguished success. I am inclined to believe, moreover, that the romantic comedy of Chapman's exercised an influence upon a later dramatist which has not yet been recognized. The question of Chapman's influence upon Fletcher deserves, in my opinion, to be carefully investigated. There are, at any rate, several interesting parallels in situation and tone between both *Sir Gyles* and *The Gentleman Usher*, on the one hand, and two of Fletcher's characteristic comedies on the other.

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¹Chapman's tragedies, modeled upon the Senecan drama, are fuller of words than action, but his comedies are crowded with action and incident.

GENEALOGY OF THE FABLE



COCK AND FOX

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE HISTORY AND SOURCES OF THE MEDLÆVAL FABLE

The story of the Cock and the Fox has long had a wide range and popularity. It is known, in one form or another, as extending from oriental antiquity down to our own days. It is known in the different genres of animal epic, clerky fable, and folklore tale. It is known and celebrated in the varying versions of Chaucer, the *Roman de Renart*, *Marie de France*—and Uncle Remus.

The fable proper seems in its entirety a special mediæval growth. Its oriental¹ forms are too remote for purposes of derivation or of discussion. It has not been discovered in Greek antiquity or in classical Latinity. A kindred form, however, is found in Apuleius, and there seems, as will be noted, even some reason to suppose that it may have constituted part of the original *Phædrus* collection which has not come down to us.

The known and accessible mediæval versions, strictly of this fable, are about fifteen in number, and they extend apparently from the Rheims MS of the Appendix to *Phædrus* (ca. 750) down to the publication of Caxton in 1484. In the following list these orthodox versions alone are enumerated. There are in addition some twelve allied stories and fables which will be reserved for later treatment.²

¹ See Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I, 610; Vartan, 12, 13; Jacobs is mistaken in his reference to the *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*; but see especially Benfey, I, 310, with which cf. Miss Petersen, *Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale* (Boston, 1898, pp. 40-42). This is the story of the "kiss" theme, which is closely related to the "decree" theme of the Fox and Dove (*Warnke's Marie*, LXI). There are also the jackal story and the sparrow story (references in Miss Petersen, pp. 16, 27, 37). These may possibly be allowed an influence of the oral tradition sort. But until the Fox and Cock fable is found entire in some collection—oriental, classical, or pre-mediæval—the *a priori* hypothesis later advocated may be considered as untenable.

² I am indebted to Dr. A. Marshall Elliott, head of the Romance seminary of Johns Hopkins University; to Dr. George C. Keidel, associate in the department, for much assistance in arranging the material; and to various members of the seminary—especially to Mr. D. B. Easter—for help in collecting versions. The paper, in so far as concerns the main method of *motifs*, proceeds along the regular lines followed in this seminary. It may

I. LIST OF VERSIONS

(These are arranged chronologically.)

1. "Appendix Fabularum *Æsopiarum*, ex MS Divionensi, Rimicio, Romulo et alii," part of *Phaedri Aug. Liberti, Fabularum *Æsopiarum*, etc., curante Petro Burmanno (editio quarta)* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1778), Fab. XIII, p. 382. Rheims MS(?) Date ca. 750(?) Phaedr. Burn. App. =PhB.¹
2. "B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini, Abbatis, etc., Opera Omnia, Tomus Secundus," part of Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CI (Lutetia Parisorum, 1863), Carmen CCLXXVIII, col. 805. Date ca. 800. Alcuin = Al.¹
3. Grimm and Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. Jh.* (Göttingen, 1838),² pp. 345-54. Date probably eleventh century. =GS.¹
4. Ademar de Chabannes, "Fabulae Antiquae," in Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins* (Paris, 1893), Vol. II, second ed., Fab. XXX, p. 142. Date before 1029. =Ad.
5. "(Alter) *Æsopus de Baldo*," in Du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge* (Paris, 1854), Fab. XXIII, p. 253. Date not known—probably twelfth century.³ =Ba.
6. Warnke, *Fabeln der Marie de France* (Halle, 1898), Fab. LX p. 198. Date ca. 1175. =M. (Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, Vol. II, Fab. LI, p. 240, has variants which affect only the subordinate motifs.)
7. "Romulus Trevirensis," Hervieux, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Fab. L, p. 598. Date ca. 1175. =RTr. ("L. B. G." is a misnomer for this collection.)
8. Leitzmann, *Gerhard von Minden* (Halle, 1898), Fab. 112, p. 165. Date ca. 1270. =GM.
9. "Romulus Bernensis," Hervieux, Vol. II, Fab. XXI, p. 308. Date ca. 1275. =BR.
10. Bromiardus, *Summa Praedicantium* (Nuremberg, 1518), h. XIII, 28. Date ca. 1390. =Br.
11. *Magdeburger Æsop*, also known as *Gerhard von Minden* (Seelmann, Bremen, 1878; *Niederdeutsche Denkmäler*, Book II), Fab. XLVI, p. 65. Date ca. 1400. =ME.
12. "Romulus Monacensis," Hervieux, Vol. II, Fab. XXVIII, p. 274. Date ca. 147-. =RM. (Misnomer *Fabulae Extravagantes*.)
13. *Stainhöwels Æsop* (Oesterley, Tübingen, 1873), Book V, Fab. LXXXIII (Fab. Extr., III), p. 196. Date 1475. =S.

interest fable specialists to know that some fifty fables have been in such fashion worked out, from *Marie de France* as a basis; and that the quantity of material thus accumulated probably surpasses any similar collection in the country.

¹ Abbreviations used in the tables.² Courtesy of the library of Columbia University.³ See Du Méril, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 216.

14. *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson* (D. Laing, Edinburgh, 1865), "Tail of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe," pp. 118-26. Date 1476. = H.

15. *The Fables of Aesop as First Printed by William Caxton* (Jacobs, London, 1889), Vol. II, Book V, Fab. III, p. 132. Date 1484. = C.

II. PLOT OF THE FABLE

I will give the oldest and one of the baldest versions, which is that of the Appendix to *Phædrus*; then one of the latest and best, which is that of *Marie*. Attention is called to the principal divergences:

PHB—*Perdix et Vulpis*

A partridge once sat in a high tree. A fox came up. Then he began to talk thus: "Oh, how great is the beauty of your face, partridge! Your beak surpasses coral, your legs the splendor of purple. But if you would sleep, how much prettier you would be!" So the foolish thing shut her eyes; the fox immediately carried off the credulous creature. She uttered supplicatingly these words mingled with grievous weeping: "By the dignity [decus] of your arts, fox, I beg you to speak my name first, [and] then you will eat." When the fox wanted to talk, he opened his mouth; but the partridge slipped away from the fool. The deluded fox [says]: "What use [was there] in my talking?" Replies the partridge: "And what use in my sleeping? Was it necessary for one to whom sleep came not?" This is for those people who talk when there is no need, and who sleep when they ought to watch.

MARIE, *De Vulpe et Gallo*

I tell of a *cock* who stood on a dung-hill and *sang*. Near him came a fox and addressed him in very fine words. "Sir," he says, "I see you are very beautiful; I never saw such a nice bird. Your *voice* is clear beyond everything: except your *father*, whom I saw,¹ never did a bird sing better; but he did better, because he shut his eyes." "So can I," said the cock. He flapped his wings, he shut his eyes; he thought he would sing more clearly. The fox jumps forward and takes him; and withal away he goes toward the forest. All the *shepherds ran after*, through a field where he passed; the *dogs* bark at him all around. "See the fox who holds the cock. In an evil hour he deceived him, if he comes this way!" "Come," says the cock, "cry to them that *I am yours* and do not let me go!" The fox wants to talk aloud, and the cock leaps out of his mouth; he mounted on a high tree. When the fox came to his senses, he considered himself very much fooled, since the cock tricked him so. With indignation and with full anger he commences to curse

¹ *Conui* (Roquefort).

his *mouth*, which talks when it ought to keep quiet. The cock replies: "So ought I to do: [I ought] to curse my eye which wants to close, when it ought to watch and ward lest evil come to its master."

Fools do this: a great many people talk when they ought to stop, and keep quiet when they ought to talk.

The additions and improvements are readily seen. In Marie, the cock is singing; the fox flatters his voice and stimulates him to surpass his father; there is a pursuit of shepherds and dogs; the cock escapes by telling the fox to cry, "I am yours;" and the fox abuses his mouth.

III. METHOD OF PROCEDURE

Such is the story. It is now our task to trace this story from its earliest to its latest appearance in mediæval fable literature, and to discover what are the relations of the versions among themselves.

In order to do this, we must have resort to one or more of the three methods usually allowed for determining such data: i. e., (1) by external evidence; (2) by external-internal evidence; (3) by internal evidence. Of these three, the first will concern us only for verification or refutation;¹ the second will be of but slight service; while the third is the standard adopted in this paper, because of its far-reaching applications, as well as of the accurate and unimpeachable character of its inferences when deduced with care. The procedure within this class is usually that of the tabulation of *motifs*; and an exhaustive list of the words and ideas in each fable, with their repetitions, imitations, parallels, or substitutions in other fables, is held to furnish a sufficiently plausible basis for the erection of a genealogical tree.

The justness of the method needs in general no defense. But in practical application, when one has a hundred or more *motifs* to consider, when each *motif* has a given number, and each is numerically equal to any other, the bewildering cloud of details tends to obscure the main facts and figures in the story, and we find it difficult to see the wood for the trees—or the underbrush. It has occurred to me, therefore, that it might be well to distin-

¹There is little enough in this class concentrating on the individual fable—though data for whole collections are more abundant. We will include here general opinions of authorities (see Division VIII).

guish between the importance of *motifs*. To illustrate: It is evidently of more consequence in the two versions just given whether the bird closes his eyes, than whether or not he is said to have a beautiful beak; the fact that there is a pursuit is of more consequence than the circumstance that the bird flaps his wings; the escape of the bird helps us more than the details of that escape. It is true that some significant or peculiar circumstance, not of a conventional character, will, if repeated, aid greatly in establishing relations. But, as a rule, it is manifestly the chief outlines of the story that call for primary consideration.

Granting then a different value in *motifs*, the question arises how to mark that value. It would be possible in one voluminous table to include all major and minor *motifs*, according to each a numerical value proportionate to the degree of its significance. But I have abandoned this plan as at once too mechanical, too confusing, and too elaborate; for a *motif* that is important for a group may lose its importance within the group; and again the ranking would lead to infinite subtleties and would be largely subject to *a posteriori* considerations. Accordingly, I have made three distinct classes of *motifs*. The first are those three or four essential points which really make the story—and these I have called *themes*. The second are the subdivisions and the striking incidents or circumstances (some forty in number) which are least, to be ignored and which constitute the development of the story—and these I have called *Leitmotive*. The third class includes the two or three hundred details—often minutiae—which will help where the others prove insufficient. These we may style *motifs* simply. The themes and *Leitmotive* I have exhibited in Analytical Table I, which forms the basis of the first part of the paper. The second table¹ will confirm what this only tentatively establishes, will correct it, and will furnish minute clues where such are needed.

The statement that the themes are essential does not mean that they are to be found in every version of the actual fable;

¹ Too bulky to print. It is merely an extension of Table I, about six times its size. It has been made over four times and should be reasonably complete and accurate (see Division V).

ANALYTICAL TABLE I

(Leitmotive Marked with Greek Letters)		Century																		(Apuleius) (Bozon)	
		XI	GS	VIII	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	II	1325
<i>α</i>	I. INTRODUCTION																				
<i>α</i>	a. Title																				
<i>β</i>	Partridge and Fox																				
<i>γ</i>	Crow and Cheese																				
<i>δ</i>	Crow and Fox																				
<i>ε</i>	b. Moral																				
<i>ε</i>	c. Description of Beast																				
<i>η</i>	d. Description of Bird																				
<i>θ</i>	e. Proverb																				
<i>ι</i>	f. Circumstances																				
<i>λ</i>	g. Concours																				
<i>ε</i>	II. RUSE OF BEAST	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>ε</i>	Wolf																				
<i>η</i>	a. Approach	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>θ</i>	b. Appeal to vanity	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>ι</i>	1. Of Person	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>λ</i>	2. Of Voice	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>μ</i>	3. Of Race	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>ρ</i>	c. Father	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>ε</i>	d. "Sing"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>ε</i>	e. "Sleep"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>η</i>	f. "Close eyes"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>θ</i>	g. "Open mouth"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>ι</i>	h. Bird leaps	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>λ</i>	i. Titbit	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo		
<i>ε</i>	III. BIRD TRICKED																				
<i>ε</i>	a. Motives	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>ε</i>	b. Actions	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>η</i>	c. Is taken	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>θ</i>	d. Regrets	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>ι</i>	e. Attendant circumstance	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>τ</i>	IV. PURSUIT	(GS)																			
<i>τ</i>	a. Personages																				
<i>υ</i>	1. Shepards and dogs																				
<i>φ</i>	2. Town-people																				
<i>χ</i>	b. Manner																				
<i>χ</i>	c. Speech																				
<i>ψ</i>	d. Circumstances																				
<i>ω</i>	V. RUSE OF BIRD	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>ω</i>	a. "they say"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>ε</i>	b. "tell them"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>β</i>	c. "my name"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>γ</i>	d. "your voice"	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>δ</i>	VI. ESCAPE OF BIRD	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>δ</i>	a. Beast opens mouth	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>ε</i>	b. Bird flies away	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>ζ</i>	c. Bird's speech																				
<i>η</i>	"thou lies"																				
<i>η</i>	d. Beast's disgust beats himself																				
<i>θ</i>	VII. MORAL	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>θ</i>	a. From beast	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>ι</i>	b. From bird	GS	AI	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H				
<i>κ</i>	c. Reciprocal																				
<i>κ</i>	d. From author																				
<i>λ</i>	Church influence	GS	AI	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35		15	8	13	13	6	13	16	17	18	19	17	17	16	16	17	16	11	13	9	

but they are the principal points of departure, and every version is incomplete without them. The themes are:

1. The RUSE OF THE BEAST, with its accomplishment.
2. The PURSUIT.
3. The RUSE OF THE BIRD—its escape.

(With the RECIPROCAL MORAL as a doubtful fourth.)

IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF A TREE BY LEITMOTIVEN

The Marie version has been given as representing very closely the orthodox or complete form of the fable. Let us then examine the other versions, having this standard in mind.

The earliest is that of the Burmannus Phædrus Appendix (PhB), which I take in this instance to derive from the Rheims MS,¹ and which is distinguished in the following particulars: The bird is a partridge; there is no appeal to the vanity of voice, nor mention of a father, nor request to sing; the bird is asked to sleep; there is no pursuit; the fox, foolishly enough, is beguiled into pronouncing the bird's name. There are three of these *Leitmotiven* which are found only in PhB and Ademar (Ad). PhB and Ad have each 13 *motifs*,² and they are identical. Therefore PhB > Ad³ probably as a direct source.

Let us turn to the other two early versions, Grimm and Schmeller (GS) and Alcuin (Al).

It had as well be stated here that this fable, since it is not found in our text of Phædrus, nor in the principal Romulus versions, since it is one of the *Fabulae Extravagantes*, must have had, as to its main outlines, and some time before the tenth or eleventh century, a source unconnected with the central streams of fable literature. Where is this source to be found? Very likely in ecclesiastical circles; for the church influence is strong both in GS and in Al.

To consider Al first, this version is extremely remote from our standard. We have only one theme—the Ruse and Escape of bird—no pursuit, and no ruse of beast, who is here a wolf. Al

¹ Since it gives Ad. See Hervieux, Vol. I, pp. 68, 80, for a discussion of this lost MS.

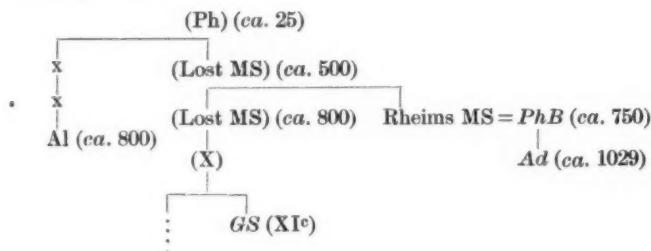
² Throughout this first part *motif* = *Leitmotif*.

³ See G. Paris, review of Hervieux in *Journal des Savants*, 1884, pp. 684, 685.

agrees in but five *motifs* with PhB and Ad. Therefore it can hardly itself be a source, and its common origin with the partridge story must be very remote indeed.

GS is much nearer the norm. It is, parenthetically, the longest of the versions, and contains a great deal of extraneous matter. But when boiled down it is seen to contain, at least in germ, nearly all the later material. It is true that the pursuit is only suggested. There is no flattery of person. Yet it agrees with Marie, for instance, in 14 *motifs*, which leaves it only 3 unaccounted for. One of these (π) is peculiar to itself, while another (ω) is found in subsequent collections, though not in the Marie branch. The "church influence" (λ'), while a possible quality of the source, cannot be expected invariably to persist. The inference is that GS is close to the source (i. e., the secondary mediæval source) from which the bulk of our versions derive. The relation of GS to PhB and Ad is not so close. They agree in 9 *motifs*.

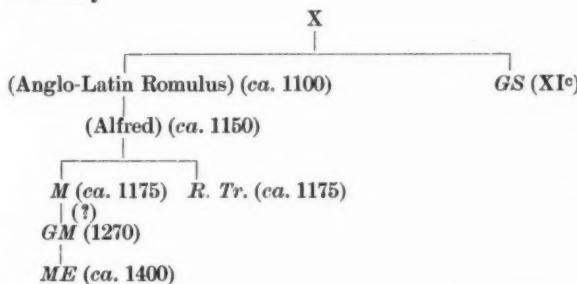
One would then be tempted to conclude that the fable was probably in the lost portion of the original Phædrus; that through several intermediaries it gave on the one hand PhB and Ad, on the other the common source (designated as X) of GS and the later versions; while in a mutilated form, and through a mixture with some wolf story, it may have contributed to Alcuin's hexameters. This suggests the following scheme (lost versions in parentheses):



This table, as will be seen, is extremely constructive. We shall find reason later to examine its reliability. But for the present the source question may be left here.

The Baldo I must leave for later discussion. It has not a single distinctive *Leitmotif*.

The next in order is the Marie branch. It has been seen that M agrees with GS in 14 *motifs*. The differences are in the flat-tary of person (θ) and the developed form of the pursuit, which indicates several intervening versions. M further agrees with RTr, GM, ME, in 15 *motifs*, 3 of them distinctive—note especially the important (v) *motif* of the shepherds and dogs. These also share with GS and Br the (ξ) *motif* "close eyes." Therefore there is no doubt of the intimate relation of these first four. RTr is distinguished from the other three in that it contains the suggestion to "sing" (μ). Its date also makes it contemporary with M. The descent of the other three would then seem direct: M > GM > ME (?). Their differentiations are too slight at present for such inference. But the relationship to the main stem is clearly

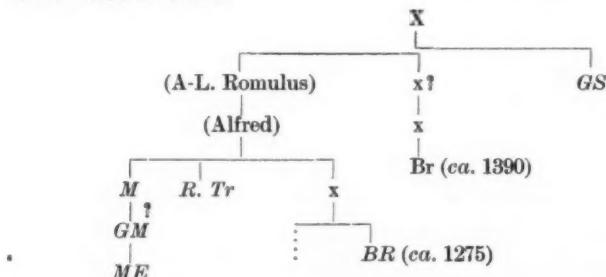


As to Br and BR the question is more complicated. The Berne Romulus offers particular difficulties. There are two collections of this name, the one deriving from the Romulus Vulgaris in two parts, while the other is more directly out of Romulus Primitivus. Our fable is in that part of the first collection which is supposed to come out of the Romulus Vulgaris directly. But our fable is not in the Romulus Vulgaris, and therefore cannot be in its true descendants. The same holds good for Br, S, H, all of which usually derive from the Romulus Vulgaris. Hence these versions, BR, Br, S, H, are from a branch independent of Romulus Vulgaris and even of Romulus Primitivus. This is

natural enough when we remember that the fable is one of the *Extravagantes*. They are all near enough our X to derive therefrom. That is to say they have the same general relationship to GS which we have found in the others.

BR and GS have 12 *motifs* in common, though none distinctive to the two. BR shares four distinctive *motifs* with the S group, and none with the M group. It may therefore be considered as out of a common source with the S group, more remotely with the M group, since they agree in ten general *motifs*; also the "speech" *motif* (χ), which is already in GS, forms a further point of agreement between M alone, BR, and the S group, indicating that all three are fairly near the source.

The form of Br is so truncated that any inferences are likely to be unwarranted. It develops only one theme—the Ruse of the Beast—and has but 6 *motifs*. Yet of these 6, γ (doubtful) is shared distinctively with the S group, and ξ with GS and the M group. Otherwise he follows GS. He might accordingly be assigned to the common source, one or two removes off. It should likewise be remembered that Bromiardus was a churchman. The table will now stand:



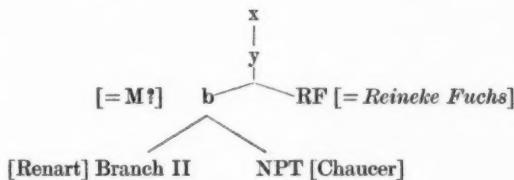
There remains the S division. S,¹ which corresponds with *Fab. Ext.*, III, is practically identical with the RM (which Jacobs and Hervieux label *Fab. Ext.*, XXVIII). This identity holds good for all but a few words and one sentence (a'). Therefore RM (= FE) will form a connecting link between S and its source. This source can hardly be farther back than Alfred, since S agrees

¹ Latin translation. The others offer no variants worthy of notice.

less than M with GS—13 and 15 *motifs* respectively. The loss of the bird's moral and of the reciprocal moral (ι , κ') is an important distinction for the S group. As we have seen, the fact that this is a *Fab. Ext.* does away with the usual S *provenance*.

S and C are identical in 18 *motifs*, and C adds but one more, which is doubtful. Therefore S > C.

As to H, he is not for the bulk of his story a fabulist at all. He is held to derive from Chaucer,¹ and Chaucer undoubtedly belongs to the epic cycle.² But Morris³ suggests that the fabular portion of Ch (as well as of the *Roman de Renart*) descends from Marie. Neither Skeat⁴ nor Miss Petersen contravenes this view. The language of the first seems to hint at the *Renart* as a possible intermediary. Miss Petersen, while constantly admitting a connection, comes to no definite conclusion regarding Marie. I transcribe her diagram:⁵



Branch II is that portion of the *Renart* which contains the "Chanticleer episode." Hence *Renart* and Ch are, according to her, somewhat parallel derivatives from *b*, which she qualifies only as "an (epic) version of the epic story, very similar to the original of R. F."⁶ But it is held to give *Renart* "through one or more elaborations."⁷ However, we may tentatively assume that *b* = M, waiting for further light from Analytical Table II. As matters now stand, Ch and M agree in 14 *motifs*, 3 of them distinctive to the M branch. Henryson omits several of these and adds one or two more. The agreement as a whole between Ch

¹ Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ Chaucer: *Prologue, Knights Tale, Nonne Prestes Tale* (Oxford, 1893), Introduction, p. xxviii; cf. (Skeat) pp. liii, liv.

⁴ As above, and in *Complete Works*, below.

⁵ P. 88

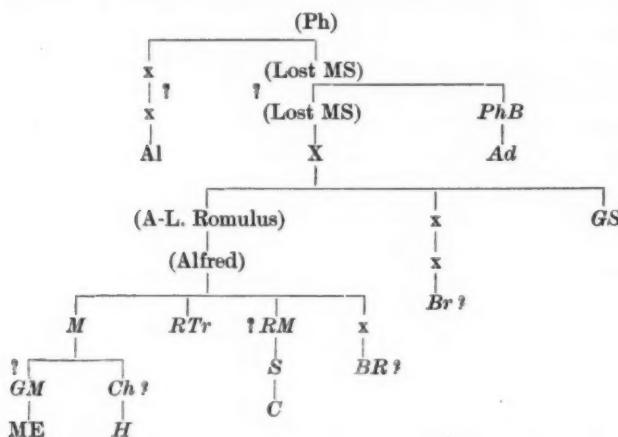
⁶ Pp. 87, 90.

⁷ P. 88.

and H is marked; while the agreement for the "Chanticleer episode" may be sustained for all three.

Therefore M > Ch > H.

The table, complete but for Baldo, will be:



V. TREE TESTED BY COMPLETE TABLE OF MOTIFS. CORRECTIONS.

Having advanced in the first part several unproven theories, it now remains to consider these in the light of an exhaustive tabulation of all *motifs*; and to discuss what views have been advocated by others concerning the history of the fable.

The doubtful points may be thus summarized: The source is not definitely placed; the exact *provenance* of Br, BR, and Ch is still to be determined; the claim of Alcuin's fable to enter here must be questioned; the exact relationship of M to GM and ME must be established; the immediate source of RM determined; and Ba is still untouched.

In this Table II the aim has been to give place to every idea and almost to every word which has had a share in the development of the fable proper; also to record such distinctive individual variations as may not be fairly considered extraneous. It has been necessary to draw the line somewhere, and I have accordingly excluded (1) verbal modifications which are without

significance—as “said” for “told,” “desiring” for “wishing,” etc.; (2) voluminous amplifications and interpolations, which, as a rule, need only to be indicated in brief, and which, if inserted, would serve but to swell the list of *motifs* distinctive to each fable—as in the cases of Al and GS; (3) epic material as found in Ch and H. But I have tried to list every *motif* occurring in more than one version; to include every word of the more regular collections; and to assign to individual variations an amount of space proportionate to their importance. As the sum-total of *motifs* amounts to 361, I think the tabulation may be held fairly complete.

As a rule it takes between 50 and 150 words—i. e., between 40 and 70 *motifs*—to tell this story. We may accordingly expect that the versions below 40 will be truncated in important particulars, and that those above 70 will be unnecessarily amplified. GS, with its 112, would seem the longest of all; but if all of the *Nonne Prestes Tale* or even all of Henryson were included, either would much exceed this. On the other hand, we found that Bromiardus had but one theme and 6 *Leitmotive*; and he had only 23 *motifs*.

Let us examine this new evidence. Our four earliest versions, Al, GS, PhB, Ad. First as to Alcuin. Has Al, after all, a right to be considered a regular member of this family? I doubt it. For he contains, it will be recalled, only one theme, and but 4 other *Leitmotive* which are found later. In the new table he is credited altogether with only 37 *motifs*, of which about 20 (twice this number, if all were listed) are distinctive, peculiar to himself. Seventeen is not a large number of common motifs, Furthermore, Al agrees with GS in only 9; with PhB and Ad minus GS in none; with all three in 6. Therefore Al is either to be thrown still further off; or he is to be thrown out; or his connection with the Cock and Fox is to be sought through the intermediary of some other fable.

The intimate connection of PhB and Ad is still further evidenced. They have 49 and 48 *motifs* respectively; they have 6 and 3 distinctive to each respectively. But they have 43 out of the 49 in common, and 16 of these are peculiar to the two. It

is the clearest case we have. PhB remains the parent of Ad. The relationship of Ad to GS continues about where it was. They have 16 *motifs* in common, one peculiar to them, plus Al. This ("your fine") is an interesting point. It is under that of the "counter-flattery of the bird," who, wishing to escape, praises the fox. It makes a good point in the story, and it is strange that we do not find it later than GS. If it be objected that this paucity of agreement calls for a further *éloignement* between GS and PhB, the reply is that they are already at a comfortable distance—since X is not here the common source and several lost MSS are supposed to intervene.

Thus the interrelationship of the first group remains as it was, except that Al had a somewhat larger title to be held an interloper.

Our main divisions after that cannot well be shaken. The two large branches of the M and S groups may be expected to hold firm, and it is a question of hanging the others around these.

As to the comparative closeness of the M and S groups to GS: all three have 29 motifs in common; GS plus S group minus M group have 3; GS plus M group minus S group, 5. The 3 are less important than the 5—or 9, if agreement with the M group individually be counted in. Several of these are quite significant. Especially so is the reciprocal or antithetical moral *Leitmotif* with its subordinate *motifs*. In GS the fox cries:

(33) "Ineurrat lingua pustulas,
Quam possidet loquacitas,
Cum est dampnosum proloqui
Neque sic valet comprimi."
"Has incurrunt et oculi."
Gallus e contra reddidit, etc.

Compare with this the Marie version and Gerhart:

"we spreket, wan he swigen sal
dat is sin egen ungeval."
de hane sprak: "du redest recht.
we dan ok to winkene plecht,
wan he van rechte sulde sen,
darvan mach em wal lede schen. . . .

In the S group we have nothing like this; the moral comes only from the side of the beast. Another interesting resemblance is that only in GS and M does the bird when told what his father did call out, "so can I." This leaves us with the M group closer GS and the source than the S group; which seems to require an intermediary x between the S group and Alfred.

Br has only 23 *motifs*, 9 distinctive. Of the remaining 14, 9 are in GS, 1 in the S and M groups, 1 in the M group plus GS. Four of the distinctive form a moral which serves as introduction. Two more finish off the moral with a "haec fabula docet," agreeing here with the S group. But this phrase is too much of a commonplace to furnish good grounds for inference. More significant is the accord with the M group. Since Br is a churchman, it seems reasonable to separate him from the later versions, where he has but one or two resemblances for each case, and to bring him nearer to GS and the supposedly clerical source. Yet, unless he derive directly therefrom, this analogy fails, and since in point of time (ca. 1390) he is far after X, it may be better to connect him with the Anglo-Latin Romulus, a regular collection, and as such a likely place for a preacher to find his *exempla*. This seems to satisfy the requirements of comparative proximity both to GS and to M; while with reference to date it is at any rate more plausible than a *provenance* from X. There is really too little of Br to go on. The striking feature about him is that he has the "close eyes" *Leitmotif* which is found in GS and the M group, but not in the S group. We can suppose that this *motif* was still in Alfred and was lost only in the x version between him and the S group. Hence another reason for assuming this intermediary x.

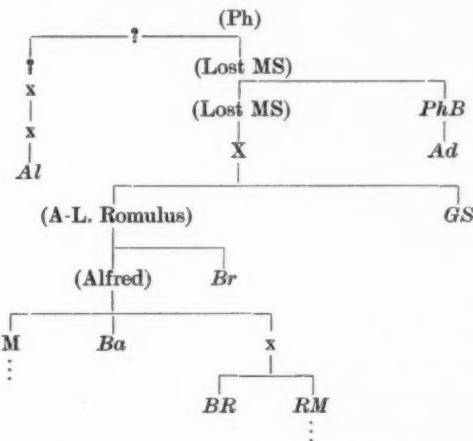
Turning to Ba which so far has been left untouched, we see that he represents a fairly full form of the fable. He has 63 *motifs*, 22 of them distinctive. Several of the latter may be owing to the exigencies of the verse. As to *Leitmotiven* first, he follows GS, with four exceptions: he has the developed form of the pursuit (τ), the suggestion to "sing" (μ), is without the "close eyes" (ξ), and the reciprocal moral (κ'). Now, all three points are characteristic of the S group. Do we find further help

in the ordinary *motifs*? Of his 41 common *motifs*, he has 26 with GS, 4 distinctive. The value of these 4 must be examined. They consist in the statements that the bird and the beast each seeks a trick or arts; that the pursuit is swift; and that the beast is called a ravisher. But on close inspection none of these is found to be identical. The resemblance with GS is therefore not marked. Ba's kinship to the S group is much closer. They share 4 distinctive *motifs*, 3 of which are significant. With the M group it agrees in 3 peculiarities, rather unimportant. But what we especially note is that Ba further removed from GS by the introduction of new material found either in the M group, the S group, or both. Such are the fact that the cock is already singing; the fox is told to hear; the fox runs to a grove; also 7 others, making 10 *motifs* in all which are not in GS. Therefore Ba is nearer Alfred than GS; and since he bears the specific marks of the S group, we are tempted to conclude him out of the common source with RM, which has been called x. But here external considerations must give us pause. The difference in date between Ba and S is over three hundred years. A common source for them, without intermediaries, seems improbable. Accordingly, since some distinctive resemblance with M has been remarked, we may assign him hesitatingly to Al.¹

For BR the same internal arguments hold with even greater force, and the claims of date are less imperious. He has 44 *motifs*, only 4 distinctive. Of the 40, only 22 derive from GS, and BR would therefore seem even more remote from X than either Ba or the M group. One distinctive *motif* with GS counts for but little. With the M group he has also one distinctive. But with the S group he has more than Ba—no less than 12 in all distinctive. When we consider that among these are numbered the cock's words, "thou liest, I am not thine, but theirs (or mine)," and the circumstance of the fox beating his mouth, I think it is clear enough, since neither of these peculiarities proceeds from GS and neither is found in the M group, that the association of BR with the S group is of the closest. The x

¹ Baldo has always been a puzzle. He generally derives from *Kalilah and Dimnah*, which, however, has not this fable.

which has been held to intervene between each and Alfred may now be supposed identical. Our table, revised according to secondary *motifs*, will stand thus far:



There remain the interrelationships within the S and the M groups. The S group offers little to detain us. These three (RM, S, and C) have 39 *motifs* in common, of which 11 as distinguished from the M group. RM and S further share alone 12, and 11 more as distinguished from C. Of C's 57, 9 are distinctive, and 2 more are not found in S. He repeats S in 44 altogether, and omits 21 of S. Accordingly we recognize the necessity of a connecting link; and this group stands: RM > S > Machault > C.

As to the M group, M and RTr have 39 *motifs* in common, 2 distinctive to themselves, 16 peculiar to the group, while RTr has 16 not in M. This is sufficient to indicate their common *provenance* from Alfred. The inference was made above that M > GM > ME. This provisional grouping is now discounted by the fact that GM has 4 *motifs* in common with RTr not in M, while the two distinctive with M are of little consequence. Therefore:

$$\text{Alfred} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{M} \\ \text{RTr} > \text{GM} > \text{ME} \end{array} \right.$$

It is now necessary to consider the Chaucer question, with his relation to Henryson and Marie. As the first two are epic versions, only that portion of their stories has been entered in the table which corresponds to the story of the fable proper. Henryson undoubtedly derives from Chaucer, as he follows him in 42 *motifs*, 15 distinctive, 1 more distinctive to the two plus M. Ch and H also agree in several epic details omitted from the table. It is known that Henryson imitated Chaucer in another poem. Therefore Ch > H, almost certainly, as a direct source.

But what is their relation to Marie? She has nothing distinctive with H. With Ch she has 36 in common, 3 peculiar to the two. On general principles it is highly probable that Chaucer was indebted here to some French source, as he often was. The French form of the words, the proper names, the manner of telling, all point to the same conclusion. Is this source Marie or another? Is it the *Roman de Renart*, and if so, what is Marie's connection with the *Renart*?

It is impossible here to go thoroughly into this matter, which would involve us with the whole epic cycle of the fox, including the *Renart*, *Reineke Fuchs*, *Ysengrimus*, etc. Grimm, Warnke, Voretsch, Miss Petersen, *et al.*, have handled the subject exhaustively, and some of their conclusions will be reserved for later comment. Suffice it now to say that, judging from *motifs* as we are doing, the *Renart* is much nearer Chaucer than is any other version. Here is the *Renart* story in brief:¹

Constant Desnoes has an excellent garden, orchard, and poultry-yard. Reynard enters this last to see what he can get. The cock, Chanticler, has had a dream which he recounts to Pintain his wife, who interprets it as foretelling his death at the hands—or teeth—of Reynard. Chanticler scoffs at this idea, and goes to sun himself in the dust-heap, stretching himself out and closing his eyes. Up rushes Reynard; but the cock escapes him to take refuge on a dung-heap. Reynard flatters him in regard to his voice, and says that Chanticlin, the father of Chanticler, used to sing gloriously with his eyes closed. In emulation, Chanticler does the same thing, and is at once seized by Reynard, who rushes off with the cock in his mouth, pursued by Constant and his farm-hands. Chanticler tells Reynard to cry out to the pursuers that, in spite of them, he is taking off the cock. The idea tickles Reynard's fancy, and he opens

¹ Abstract by Mr. Easter. *Roman de Renart*, ed. Martin, Branch II, ll. 25-468.

his mouth so to do, when forth leaps the cock and speedily seeks a place of safety; whence he preaches a sermon to Reynard from the text that he does wrong who sleeps when he should watch. Reynard goes away hungry and sad, leaving the cock rejoicing at his unexpected escape.

The points where this agrees distinctively with Chaucer are (1) the poultry-yard, (2) Chanticler, (3) the dream, (4) the cock's wife, (5) the fox is incited to cry that he will carry off his prey anyhow. Marie has this last in a modified form, and she has also among others, the two distinctive *motifs* of the dung-heap and the word "watch" in the moral. It would seem, then, that Marie is the connecting-link between the epic and the fabular versions (which is at any rate an important point gained); and that Renart—or his supposititious putative brother—is the connecting link between Marie and Chaucer. Therefore we may suppose either (1) that *Renart* as to this episode is an amplification of Marie; hence

M > Renart > Chaucer > H

Or else (2)

$$M \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Renart} \\ x > \text{Ch} > \text{H} \end{array} \right.$$

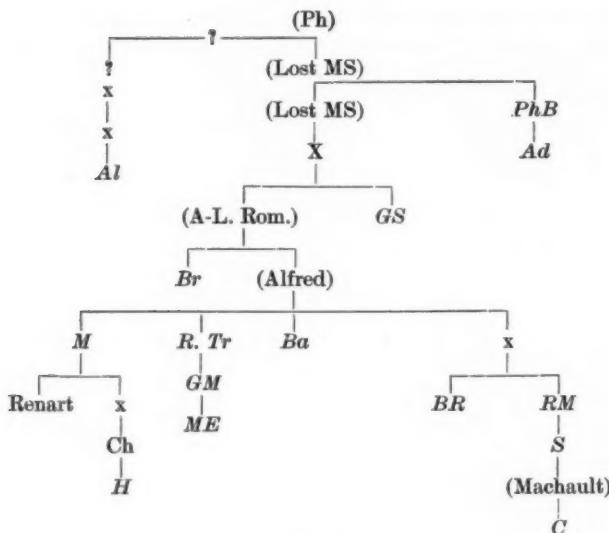
The latter is perhaps the safer hypothesis. An intermediary version or two between Marie and the *Renart* may be allowed.

The circle of the versions has again been completed. All the results deducible from the internal evidence in the forms of the regular fable have been obtained. Their examination has led to the inferences summed up in the tree appearing at the top of the next page—which is not yet definitive.

VI. RELATED FABLES

But this is not all. There are, besides the regular versions, several stories more or less like the Cock and Fox, some of which may very well have had influence upon our fable. Among these are:

1. Juan Manuel, *Conde Lucanor*, ed. Kunst and Birsch-Hirschfeld (Leipzig, 1900), p. 53. The only visible connection with our story is that the fox tries to get the cock out of a tree. He finally scares the bird out by gnawing the bark, and thus, making him fly from tree to tree, tires him out in the end.



2. Four passages are found in Odo of Sherrington, two of which (*Parabolae*, XCIX, and *Fabulae*, XLIX) are mere allusions to the fable of the fox feigning death. It is worth noting, however, that the fox is compared to the devil, as in GS and others.

3. The other two are properly fables. The one (L) is of the fox who persuades the fowls to open the poultry-house from pity, and the other (XXV) is of the fox confessing to the cock.

4. In John of Shepprey, we have (Fab. XX) the same poultry-house story.

All these concern us only in so far as they illustrate the wiliness of the fox. But there is a group of others which may prove to have a more direct connection with the fable.

5. Phaedrus, I, 15; Apuleius, *Liber de Deo Socratis*, Prologus, ed. Hildebrandt, pp. 107-10; John of Shepprey, VII; Odo of Sherrington, LXX; Nicole de Bozon, II, p. 257; Marie XIII; etc.

This is the fable of the Crow and Fox. As a whole, it should be considered a separate story with a separate history, and therefore has not been placed among the regular versions. However, it greatly resembles in many particulars the Cock and Fox, and it is a plausible hypothesis that the two became at some point

interwoven or confused. A symposium of the Crow and Fox stories will show how likely this is. First the Phædrus version;

When a crow had stolen cheese from a window and wanted to eat [it], he flew up into a high tree. A fox, who had seen it, began thus to speak: "How great is the strength [*vigor*] of your feathers, O crow. Had you a farther-reaching voice, no bird would be before you." This one, wishing to show his farther-reaching voice, let fall the cheese; which swiftly and eagerly the crafty fox carried off with his teeth. Then indeed the crow lamented, because, like a fool, he had been deceived by a trick.

Apuleius adds the following points: That in the first place both the fox and the crow saw the morsel (not cheese) and made for it, the one running, the other flying. The crow consequently outstrips the fox, siezes the morsel, and flies rejoicing into the top of an oak. The fox announces the Dark Plots *motif*. He stops under the tree and begins his flattery: "You have a beautiful, well-proportioned body, soft feathers, silvery head, strong beak. You excel in your color as the swan does in his. Could you but sing as the swan!" There is flattery of race also. And the suggestion of an antithetical moral—"what [the crow] had gained by flight he lost by song; but what the fox had lost in running he regained by craft."

Marie and other versions have practically this content. But Odo and Nicole de Bozon add the father *motif*—"how well your father sang!"—and they preach against vainglory. The *vigor* of the feathers is changed to *nitor*, in which form we know it. The moral in Marie is against "false losenge."

It will be seen that the *ensemble* of these stories contains the whole of one of our themes—the Ruse of the Beast. This is most significant and at once suggests an intimate relationship. Nearly all the *Leitmotive* are there—the appeal to vanity of person, of voice, of race, the allusion to a father, the request to sing. The "close eyes" is not there—but neither is it in the S group. The main difference is that the fox wishes to eat the cheese instead of the bird himself. But the Beast's Ruse to acquire the desired thing is practically identical with our norm.

Where shall we go for the other two themes—the Pursuit and the Ruse of the Bird? Among other extra versions are:

6. *Recueil de Fabliaux*, Barbazon-Meon, III, 53ff., "Dou lou et de l'ove," of which an abstract follows:

Famine forces a wolf to leave the woods in search of food. He sees a flock of geese feeding near by, and, catching one that is somewhat apart from the rest, makes away with her in his mouth. The goose begins to lament that she is to die without the accompaniment of sauce and song To oblige her the wolf says: "Nous chanterons, puisqu'il vous siet," and, sitting down on his haunches, opens his mouth to howl—when out wriggles the goose and flies into an oak tree. The wolf is disgusted; but, returning to the flock, catches another goose, which he takes good care to eat before he does any singing.

This is evidently near to the Alcuin story. The details of the ruse are different from our norm, but the vital point—that the beast is tricked into opening his mouth—is identical in all three, as likewise in the next:

7. *Dialogus Creaturarum*, Book I, No. 8512, p. 50 (quoted in Du Méril, p. 253, n. 4):

Aesopus tells that a wolf took a very tender kid from among the goats. To this one the kid said: "Rejoice and be exceeding glad that you have such a kid in your power; but before you eat me, I beg of you to sing, and while you sing I will leap." Then the wolf began to sing and the kid to leap, hearing which the dogs made an attack against the wolf, and pursuing him they compelled him to leave the kid and the kid fled."

Here is the theme of the Pursuit; as also the *motif* of the dogs, to which some commentators¹ on the Cock and Fox are inclined to attach much importance.

VII. HYPOTHESIS OF A SOURCE

These various tales, widely dissimilar among themselves, have been adduced for the purpose of setting forth an hypothesis which, though it does not bring with it absolute conviction, seems to me a quantity to be reckoned with. I make the suggestion that, since the ultimate source of our Cock and Fox is still unknown, since we have found nothing satisfactory earlier than GS and his assumed relative X, since the fable is not in Phædrus or his first imitators and copyists—it may have had its origin in a

¹ Notably Sudre, *Sources du Roman de Renart* (Paris, 1893), pp. 273 ff. Cf. comment by Miss Petersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-21.

composite presentation and *rifaccimenti* of these stories. That is, cannot the *ensemble* of the wolf tales and of the crow tales have united to constitute our Cock and Fox? It should be remembered that most of these stories, as given above, antedate GS; and to those which do not earlier forms may be attributed.

If it can be shown (1) that this *ensemble* (which we will label E) contains most of the material of the Cock and Fox story, and (2) that it contains *motifs* not in GS, but found in later branches, the presumption will be strong in favor of the hypothesis. For (1) E need not contain *all* the material, as each author subsequently may be allowed individual variations. And (2) the omission in GS, and by inference in our assumed source X, of certain material which is found later sends us directly for an ultimate source to where this material actually is found. If it is found in Alcuin or Odo or the *Dialogus Creaturarum*, they or their origins count in so far as sources for us. It is certainly more reasonable to go where we know the material is, than to proceed on the assumption that it was in a lost Phædrus or in X—both unknown quantities.

First, then, how much of the Cock and Fox story is in this E—the Alcuin story plus the Kid story plus the Goose story, combined with the Cheese story? Having read these stories, one cannot hesitate for an answer. Nearly all the Cock and Fox is there. We have in E all the themes and fifteen of the *Leitmotiven* afterward used. The exceptions are (a) the "close eyes," which is only in Br and the M group anyhow; (b) the town-people as pursuers, which is not in GS either; (c) speech of the pursuers; (d) "they say;" (e) "tell them"—which are good exceptions; (f) the moral from the beast—not very significant. There are accordingly only three good exceptions; surely we may allow to X the credit of originating these. In E both the bird and the beast are tricked into singing. The later substitution, where the beast is induced to speak instead, may have arisen from a process of dissimilation. This would happen after the introduction of pursuers, and would be a natural sequence thereof as well as a good point in the story. Hence (c) above > (d) and (e). There is therefore little of moment to account for, apart from E, in the later course of the fable.

Second, does E throw any light where GS has failed? It evidently does. The Crow and Fox contributes these important *Leitmotive*, otherwise unaccounted for: (1) the flattery of person—occurring in much the same words in Ad, PhB, and the M group; (2) the suggestion to sing, which, though an inartistic detail, characterizes BR, Ba, and the S group. As to the Pursuit theme, that is certainly elaborated in GS, but we must turn to something akin to the *Dialogus Creaturarum* for the *motif* of the dogs. Al furnishes no *Leitmotive*, but it may be noted that he describes the bird as credulous and mentions his position in a high tree—both of which *motifs* find continuations, though not in GS. Yet the Cheese story gives this last, and among others, the address as "lord," and "I should like to hear your voice."

I conclude then:

Wolf and Cock	}	> Cock and Fox
Wolf and Goose	}	
Wolf and Kid	}	
Crow and Fox, etc.	}	

This necessitates readjustment of the table. We may discard the highly constructive Phædrus derivation, and we may allow more intermediary versions where imperatively demanded by discrepancy in dates. The tree will finally stand as facing the initial page of this paper.

VIII. AUTHORITIES

Some of the views expressed by various writers on the Cock and Fox may be cited for comment or confirmation.

1. Warnke, *Die Quellen des Esopé der Marie de France*,¹ pp. 206-8, makes the following points: He declares that "Greek and Latin antiquity offers nothing analogous" to this fable. This seems correct for the Greek. But the Crow and Fox, which we have found to present considerable analogy, occurs in Phædrus and Apuleius. He says also that the first part of the fable (i. e., the Ruse of the Beast) does not occur alone, and he believes the second part, the Alcuin version, to be the originative form. The Crow and Fox is not only presumably the older part, but gives

¹ In *Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie: Festgabe für Suchier* (Halle, 1900).

the first theme isolated in its every version. Our conclusions accord better with his further statements. He asserts that the *Fabulae Extravagantes* text = (S) of Cock and Fox agrees completely in essentials with Ba and BR; which supports our derivation of these from a common source. He thinks that Ad cannot go back to antiquity; and our hypothesis sends it back to antiquity only for its first part. He considers M the best and most natural version. Finally he holds that the version known to M was that which served the need of the composers of *Renart* and the other epics, including Chaucer. This is going a remove farther back than we had gone: the one supposition seems quite as tenable as the other.

2. Voretsch, "Der Reinhart Fuchs und der Roman de Renart," in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XV, pp. 136-47. He considers the Wolf stories as constituting one division of the fable. He believes that Chaucer comes out of *Renart*, Branch II, directly, but claims that it is widely different from the original. He observes that in the *Renart* as in GS the cock closes first one eye, then both. This cannot be the invention of a *trouvère*; therefore it is probably an addition to a reworking of *Reinike Fuchs*. For us, this shows still more clearly the relation between fable and epic.

3. Du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge*, pp. 215, 216, has some conjectures concerning Baldo, whose versification he considers too elaborate for the eleventh century, and not sufficiently developed for the thirteenth—the latter point being also supported by external evidence.

It would be a very precious fact for literary history, if one could succeed in establishing it by proofs of a more precise date: for most of these fables are imitated from *Calilah and Dimnah*, and it would result therefrom that the influence of the Orient upon the literary ideas of the Romance peoples had made itself felt earlier than is supposed.

The last reflection does not concern the Cock and Fox.

4. G. Paris, "Les fabulistes latins, par Hervieux," in *Journal des Savants*, 1884, pp. 684, 685, supports Warnke in assigning Ademar's fable to a mediæval source. "The question [of Ad's origin in *Phædrus*] is much more doubtful for *Perdix et*

Vulpes,¹ where the ideas and the style of the Middle Ages seem to rule."

5. Skeat, *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*. "The House of Fame, etc. . . . Account of the Sources of the Canterbury Tales," second ed. (Oxford, 1900), pp. 431, 432, says of the *Nonne Prestes Tale*:

An early version of the tale occurs in a short fable by Marie de France, afterwards amplified in the old French *Roman de Renart*. The corresponding portion of the *Roman de Renart* contains the account of the Cock's dream about a strange beast, and other particulars of which Chaucer makes some use.

According to him, again, M > Renart > Ch.

6. Miss Petersen, *Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale, passim*. We fall back on this excellent monograph, as giving perhaps the most elaborate discussion of the Chaucer question, and as raising incidentally, several points bearing on the fable. Miss Petersen contributes these suggestions:

a) Chaucer is "unmistakably epic," as evinced by the features of the dream, the proper names, the description of the cock's owner and of the yard, the dialogue between cock and hen, the lament of the hens—all peculiar to the epic versions. Chaucer's immediate source is "some epic tale belonging to the *Renart cycle*." (P. 9.)

b) She cites the opinion of Sudre that "the intervention of the dogs . . . is a survival of the original *cadre* of the story. This *cadre*, he thinks, is to be found in the *Æsopic fable of the Dog and Cock*." She admits that "in the *Æsopic account*, the part of the dog is of great consequence . . . his *rôle* as protector is really the turning-point of the story." But she holds that in the Chanticleer episode the pursuit by the dogs is merely an "accessory theme," and adds with apparent justice, that it may have been "formulated from the observation of real life." Yet she grants the similarity of our *Æsopic Wolf and Kid* story as to the Pursuit theme. (Pp. 10-16.)

¹ It may be noted that in the figures around the Bayeux tapestry—which some suppose to derive from Ad—one fable occurs more frequently than any other. See Bruce, *The Bayeux Tapestry Elucidated* (London 1856), Plates I, II, VI, XIII. It occurs as the Cheese story twice, as Fox and Partridge once, as Cock and Fox perhaps once or twice. This serves well to illustrate the great popularity of the fable.

c) She mentions also the story of the Cat with One Trick, in which the dogs appear, and believes that from some such mediaeval "floating tale" the theme of the pursuit by the dogs was drawn and appended to the Cock and Fox Story." (Pp. 18-21.)

d) She follows Warnke in considering Al the originative form; but she wisely differentiates the *oculis clausis* trick from the first theme, and is right in declaring that this trick itself is not found alone. (P. 46.)

It would take us too far afield to discuss all of Miss Petersen's views. Suffice it to say that she does not actually confute our E hypothesis, and that her Chaucer descent agrees with our table—except that she leans to the belief that the folklore story of Cock and Fox, rather than any special fabular version of it, as M, contributed to the Renart cycle. (For her conclusions see pp. 46, 118.)

7. Furnivall, *Origin and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, p. 115, claims an English origin for the fable. This view is unsupported by others, but seems to me quite tenable, when we remember that the bulk of our versions are more or less directly English—that all save four or five derive directly from Alfred.

IX. CONCLUSION

We see thus that the Cock and Fox fable has been variously oriented as *Æsopic* or *Phædric*, popular, clerical, English. Our composite hypothesis admits all of these influences. That is to say, we refer the fable for one part to *Phædrus*, and for the other to the folk-tale (?) of the wolf. It is possible that in this latter we are to see an English clerical presentation, transmitting its marks to E, which gave on the one hand the partridge story, on the other GS and X. This X remains the secondary source out of which proceed all later versions. The story loses then its clerical character, but maintains its English dominance, becomes finally a regular fable, deviates into the epic, but persists in the end as a crystallized *exemplum* with a definite history, having evolved out of a mass of chaotic and apparently uncoördinated tales.

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A VALUABLE MIDDLE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

In my search for Old and Middle English versions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* I recently came upon a very interesting MS in the Worcester Cathedral Library. And it is a MS which has not thus far attracted the attention of students of English literature and history.¹ There are at least two reasons why the volume has remained unknown: (1) there is no complete and reliable catalogue of the Worcester collection; (2) the MS, being comparatively late (last quarter of the fifteenth century), and of unattractive appearance generally, would hardly appeal to the average "skimmer" of libraries and seeker after antique treasures. The MS is full of important historical and literary documents, but it is nevertheless entirely ignored in the Historical Commission's report on the Worcester libraries.² Nor have I been able to find anything about MS fol. 172 in any of the archaeological histories of the city of Worcester.

The MS originally contained at least 226 paper leaves (probably more), of which 16 have been lost from the beginning. So there remain 210 leaves and 6 fly-leaves, 3 at the beginning and 3 at the end, and f. 4 of the modern pagination agrees with f. XVII of the earlier. The MS is bound together in quires of 12 leaves each—except the first quire which has only 6 (and the 3 fly-leaves)—the ends of the quires always being indicated by catch-words. The leaves measure 11x8 inches and more than half of them have been considerably injured—perhaps by moisture or heat. So it is difficult to make out the reading of the upper part of the first few pages. The MS is generally without ornamentation, except the original rubries and capitals in red. The Psalter, however, contains red and blue script in great profusion. One scribe seems to have been responsible for the copying

¹ Professor A. S. Napier kindly called my attention to this version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* some years ago.

² Cf. *Report of Historical Commission* for the year 1895. H. Schenkl has not yet published an account of the Worcester Cathedral Library in his series of articles on the patristic literature in English libraries. Cf. *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* since about the year 1890.

of the entire volume, and it is not improbable that he was the translator of several of the pieces, such as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Statutes of Blac Rogier*, and Peter Alfons' *Disciplina Clericalis*. All the pieces of the MS are in English prose, except the last, which is a fragment of the Psalter in Latin and English. The "Table of Contents," which is in a much later hand than that of the MS, is imperfect and conveys no proper conception of the real importance of this volume. On the inside of the first cover and on the first fly-leaf the same hand that wrote the brief table of contents has scribbled a considerable bibliography of the works of Richard Rolle of Hampole—which was, however, evidently copied from the well-known catalogues of Leland, Bernard, and Bale. The items of the table of contents are as follows:

- P. 29. explicit *Passio Nichodemi*.
- P. 30. The libel of Richard Hermit of Hampole, of the rule of good living in 12 chapters.
- P. 46. A treatise against ghostly temptations. The twelve degrees of humility.
- P. 61. The deeds or Acts of the Apostles.
- P. 85b. Of Life contemplative and of the works thereof; it endeth p. 129.
- P. 181b. Part of the Psalter, Latin and English.

The most interesting and valuable documents preserved in this MS are not mentioned in this table of contents. It will therefore be necessary to call attention to these productions before attempting to give a complete list of the contents of the volume.

For the student of literature the most valuable piece in the MS is the version of Peter Alfons' well-known collection of oriental tales, which bears the Latin title of *Disciplina Clericalis*.¹ There were apparently from twenty-five to thirty-five tales in the original collection from which this version was translated; and the whole was written by a Jew named Moses, who was converted to Christianity and baptized under the name "Petrus Alfonsi" (Peter Alfons) in Aragon in July, 1106, by Stephen, bishop of

¹ Known in Old French Poetry as *Le chastoiement d'un père à son fils*. There are several MSS of this poem, as well as of the Latin prose version, in the British Museum. Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. II, pp. 235 ff. The "Castolement" was edited from the Maihingen MS by M. Roesle (Munich, 1899).

Huesca, King Alfonso I of Aragon (VII of Castile and Leon) standing as his god-father. The tales are told by a dying Arab father to his youthful son for his admonition and instruction. The version of the Worcester Cathedral MS 172 is the only one that has as yet been discovered in Middle English literature.¹ It contains the usual (according to the Latin) prologue, and twenty-four or twenty-five tales, evidently translated directly from the Latin. But the order in which the tales are reproduced differs materially from that of any of the MSS described by Ward.

I am not able to say whether or not the "Libel of Richard hermyte of hampol" is a genuine work of Richard Rolle of Hampole. It is at any rate ascribed to the famous "Yorkshire Writer" both at the beginning and close of the piece, and the presumption is strongly in favor of its genuineness. Moreover, it has never been noticed by Horstmann, or any other modern student of the life and works of Richard Rolle—that is, Horstmann does not record this piece in the list of "Works bearing his name," though the title of the first work given in this list (*The form of living*—an epistle to Margaret Kirkly, in 12 chapters and 2 parts) does bear some resemblance to it.²

It is possible that another piece of our MS, *A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns* (ff. 33b ff.), is the work of Hampole. Horstmann prints³ a piece with a similar title (*A trelyse of gostly batayle*), but judging from a comparison of the first few sentences of the two works, they are in no sense identical.

Still another piece of a similar character which seems to have been very popular during the latter years of the Middle Ages begins (f. 72b) with the indefinite heading "That the inner havyng of a man Shuld be like to the vtter." This extensive

¹ That this Collection was by no means unknown in ME. literature is shown by the fact that a large number of the tales are included (in abbreviated form) in the ME. version of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* (cf. Mrs. Mary M. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales: An English Fifteenth Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum*, etc.; ed. for the E. E. T. S. from Brit. Mus. MS Addit. 25, 719; Part II [London, 1905]). An Old Norse version of the *Disciplina* was edited by H. Gering, *Islandsk Æventyri; Isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen* (2 vols., Halle, 1882-83), Vol. I, pp. 163-93.

² Cf. C. Horstmann, "Richard Rolle of Hampole" (*Yorkshire Writers*, Vol. II, Introd., pp. XL f.).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 420 ff. Horstmann did not know about the Worcester Cathedral MS, when he published his work.

moral-religious treatise exists in several MSS¹ in the British Museum under the title, *The Diuyn Cloode of Unknowyng; or A Boke of Contemplacion*. It has been at different times ascribed to William Exmeuse, Maurice Chawney, and Walter FitzHerbert.

"The statutes of the blissed Lord and Bisshop, blac Rogier" (ff. 155-63) is of especial interest to students of English history. The document is composed of thirty-three "statutes" concerning the episcopal government of the city of London, issued in Latin by Roger Niger, who was bishop of London during the second quarter of the thirteenth century.² The regulations touch upon many of the most interesting social questions with which the church had to deal during the Middle Ages. The English version of this MS, which is the only one known,³ was probably made in the fifteenth century.

For the sake of convenience to those students of literature and history who may be interested in any of the pieces contained in MS 172, I give the following complete list of the contents, together with the rubric and first few words of most of the pieces:

Ff. 4-12 (olim "XVII-XXV"⁴): A fragmentary version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, embracing chaps. 12-27 (according to Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocr.*)

Ff. 12-12b: A short account of the discovery of Joseph of Arimathea in a prison at Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian and of the death of Pilate—a sort of *Paradosis Pilati*.⁵

Ff. 13-16, *The Legend of the Holy Rood*, at the close of which the copyist incorrectly placed the colophon, "explicit Passio Nichodemi."

Ff. 16-16b: A short homiletic treatise beginning: "It was wont to be doubted of sum whi Tithes bien yevon to holichirche."

Ff. 17-32b: Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Libel of the Amendement of mannes lif*. Rubric, or prologue: "This is the libel of Richard hermyte of hampol of the Amendement of mannes lif, other ellis of the

¹ Cf. especially Reg. 17 G. XXVII and XXVIII, Reg. 17 d v; Harl. 674, 91c; 959 f. 41; 2373.

² Roger, surnamed *Niger*, succeeded Eustachius de Fauconberge as bishop of London and he was consecrated in 1229 (?). He died at Stepney, near London, in 1241 (cf. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum*, Vol. I, pp. 13 and 58).

³ A Latin version of the Statutes is preserved in the Cambridge University Library MS Gg. IV, 32 (ff. 108-16), beginning: *Statuta inter rectores, Archidiaccon. London per dominum Rogerum bone memorie nigrum, etc.*

⁴ The older pagination may always be arrived at by adding 13 to the later numbering of the leaves which is followed here.

⁵ This piece and the next following one are virtually merged with the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in this MS.

Rule of goode living; and it is departed in .xij. chapters. The first is how a man conuerte hym to god. The secunde is how he shal disport hym vnto the world. The .iiij. is of poverte. The .vij. is of thordynaunce of goode living. The .v. is of tribulacioun. The .vj. is of pacience. The .vij. is of praier. The .viii. is of meditacioun. The .ix. is of Redyng. The .x. of clenesse of mynde. The .xi. of the love of god. The .xii. of the contemplacioun, other the biholdyng of god. Of thiese matiers eueriche after other as god yevith hem we shuln folowe.”¹

Then the first chapter begins: “Tarie the noght, man, to be conuerted vnto the lord god, nother delay the noght from day to day,” etc.

The twelfth chapter ends with the colophon: “Explicit Ricardus de Ampull.”

Ff. 33–33b: A short homily on the “office of a Bisshop.”

Ff. 33b–44: *A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns*, beginning: “Ure merciful lord god, Ihesu, chasticith his children and suffrith hem to be tempted for many profitable skillis and to their profite.”

Ff. 44–46b: A homiletic piece with the rubric, “Hic incipiunt duodecim gradus humilitatis,” and beginning: “Seynt Gregory, the doctour, saith that without mekenes it is vnlieful of truste on foryevenes of thi synne.” The colophon runs: “Expliciunt .xij. gradus humilitatis.”

Ff. 46b–47b: A series of four short tales or narratives: (a) Rubrie, “Narracio de periculo differendi penitenciam.” Begins: “Ther was a worthy man and a Riche whos name was Crisaurius, and as plentivous as he was of worldly goodis, also ful he was of synne and vice in pride, in lechery, in covetise,” etc. (b) “Alia narracio,” beginning: “Ther was .ij. scoule felawes, of the whiche oon entred into Religion,” etc. (c) “Narracio contra confessos de peccatis sed non contritos,” beginning: “Cesarius² the grete clerk telleth that ther was a man in Parice, a young man that yaf al to lechery,” etc. (d) “Narracio de peccatore penitente et Saluate” (*sic*), beginning: “Ther was a Thief in a grete desert, leeder maister of many,” etc.

Ff. 48–72: The *dedis of Apostels*, having the heading: “The prolog on the dedis of Apostels.” The “prolog” begins: “Luke of Antioche, of the nacioun Sirie, whos praiseng is told in the gospel. At Antioche he was a worthy man of lechecraft, and afterwards a disciple of Cristes apostels,” etc.³

Ff. 72b–116: *The Booke of Contemplacion; or, The Diuyn Clowde of Vnknowynge*, a long moral-theological treatise in ninety-three chapters

¹ I have retained the reading of the MS in all cases, though the punctuation is generally my own, and capitals have usually been introduced at the beginning of the sentences.

² Caesarius von Heisterbach († 1240), the well-known German monastical writer and historian, whose *Dialogus magnus visionum et miraculorum* is also a store-house of mediæval tales and fables. Cf. Mary Banks, *op. cit.*

³ A comparison of the “prolog” with those printed by Forshall and Madden (*Wyclifite Bible*) shows that this version of the *Dedis of the Apostels* is a copy of Purvey’s translation.

with the heading: "That the inner havyng of a man Shuld be like to the vtter," and beginning: "Gostly brother in Ihesu Crist, I prae the that in pe callyng whiche our lord hath callid the to," etc.

Ff. 116b-117: A short theological or religious piece which has been crossed out, beginning "Ihesus be oure sped, Amen." The words: "Pater Noster" in large red letters occur frequently on the page.

Ff. 117-117b: "Ui (i. e. six) vertuous questiouns, and answers of .vj. holy doctours, of tribulacioun paciently taken in this world."

Ff. 117b-118 seem to contain a few "Masses" by Popes Gregory and Innocent, which have been crossed out.

Ff. 118b-138: *The Disciplina Clericalis* by Peter Alfons, the prologue to which begins: "Peter Alfons seruant of Ihesu Crist, maker of this booke, with Thankynges I do to god, the whiche is first and without bigynnyng; to whom is the bigynnyng and the end of al goodenes, the fulfillyng," etc. The tales proper have the following beginning: "Therfor Enoch the philosophre, whiche in Arabik tung is named Edriche, saide to his sone: 'The dreede of god be thy busynes, and lucre and wynnyng shal come to the without any labour.'"

Ff. 138-148: A version of the *Epistle of Alexander to Aristotle*, having the rubric: "Incipit epistola Alexandri magni Regis macedonum ad Magistrum suum Aristotilem," and beginning: "Alwey I am myndeful of the also among the preeke and doubtes of our batels, most diere comandour, and, after my Moder and sisters, most acceptable," etc. The piece ends with an *Epitaphum* in Latin verses, the first two lines of which are:

Primus Alexander, pillea natus in vrbe
Quem comes Antipater, confecto melle veneno.

Ff. 148b-155: A theological treatise on the power and authority of the Pope.

Ff. 155-163: The *Statutes of Roger Niger*, bishop of London (1229-41), which piece has the heading, "The statutes of the blissed Lord and Bisshop blac Rogier." Begins: "To the Bisshop of London of the comfort of the lord Petir, Archedeken of London, made and direct to al the Persons, vicars and parassh praestes in the Citee of London constitute."

Ff. 163b-165b: A deed or charter of William de Courtney¹ (from 1381), beginning: "Williām bi divyne suffraunce Archebisshop of Caunterbury, of al Ingland Prymat, and of the Apostels seete legate, to our wel beloved sone, Thomas Bekaton,² doctour of lawe, Archedeken of London, and Deane in the chirche of our lady at the Bowe of London," etc. Ends: "even in our Manor at Lamblith the .xj. Kalendis of December, the yeere of our lord MCCCLxxxvij, and of our translacioun the .vij."

Ff. 165b-166: Another short archiepiscopal document, having the rubric: "The tenour folowith of constituciouns memoratief." A rubric

¹ Cf. Newcourt, Vol. I, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61, n. c.

on the next page seems to refer to the same document: "Thiese bien the constituciouns provincial of the Archebisshop of Caunterbury, Robart of Wynchelsey."¹ It ends: "Writen Anno domini Milesimo CCCXLvij."

Ff. 166-213b: An interlinear (Latin-English) version of the Psalter, with a prologue beginning: "Here bigynneth a prolog vpon the psautier," and extending to the bottom of f. 168. At the top of the following page there is a lengthy rubric which serves as a sort of introduction to the Psalter: "Here bigynneth the psautier, the whiche is comunely vsed to be rad [in] holichirche service; for it is a booke of grete deuocioun and of high gostly conceivyng. In whiche booke men fynden ful moche wetnesse and partite vndirstondyng of gostly comfort. Also þis booke sheweth the meidis of iust men and the of uniust men, the Reward of everyman after his travaile." The MS breaks off after vs. 19 of chap. Lxxij, the last verse of the fragment running: "How bien thei made into desolacioun; the faileden sodainly; thei perisshiden for their wickidnes."²

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¹Archbishop of Canterbury, 1436-46 (Newcourt, Vol. I, pp. 22, 23).

²This version of the Psalter is probably a copy of the translation made by Purvey.



ROMEO AND JULIETTE¹

At the present time the only recognized sources of Shakspere's *Romeo and Juliet* are Arthur Brooke's long poem, *Romeus and Juliet*, published in 1562, and William Painter's novel, contained in his *Palace of Pleasure*, 1566-67, both of these works being based directly on a French novel by Boaistuau, written in 1559. Painter's story is merely a close prose translation, whereas the poem shows a much freer handling of its original; of the two productions it was chiefly from the poem that Shakspere drew his material.

But, in addition to these two sources, there seems to have existed once in England a pre-Shaksperian play on this subject. Brief mention of it is made in the address to the reader which Brooke prefixed to his poem. He says: "Though I saw the same argument lately set forth on stage with more commendation than I can look for (being there much better set forth than I have or can do) yet the same matter penned as it is, may serve the like good effect." Unfortunately, this play seems to have been short-lived in England, for no other explicit reference to it has been found, and, so far as we are aware, it is no longer extant. The important part, therefore, which it may have played in the history of the drama, and the influence which it may have exerted on Shakspere have remained hitherto matters of profitless speculation.

But though this play in its original form be irrevocably lost, we shall find, I think, that it has been fairly well preserved in a foreign adaptation; namely, in the *Romeo en Juliette*, a Dutch play in Alexandrine couplets by Jacob Struijs, written about 1630.

At first glance, to be sure, one might easily suppose this drama to be, like the well-known German *Romio und Julietta*, nothing

¹ To Professor Kittredge and Professor Baker, of Harvard University, I must here acknowledge indebtedness; for although they have not seen my paper in its present form, yet, when I first approached this question some time ago, they offered most helpful suggestions.

more than a poor remodeling of Shakspere. But closer study reveals the fact that Shakspere, if a source of the play at all, was certainly not the only source. To be more explicit, we are confronted by the following important situation: (1) Large portions of the Dutch play clearly go back to Boaistuau, or to some translation of Boaistuau. (2) One significant incident finds its counterpart only in Brooke's version of the story. (3) Numerous agreements between the *Romeo en Juliette* and Shakspere's drama cannot be accounted for by any known form of Boaistuau or by Brooke's poem. With the Dutch play thus agreeing in turn exclusively with Boaistuau, with Brooke, and with Shakspere, one is forced to admit that Struijs made use of all these three other works, or drew upon some other document which was also used by Shakspere—perhaps indeed the play referred to by Brooke. The first supposition is on the face of it unlikely; the second I shall now try to illustrate and confirm.

But to convert this latter supposition into a justifiable conclusion will require at least two stages of proof: a thorough demonstration, in the first place, that the agreements between D (if this letter may stand for the Dutch play) and each of the other three works have in reality the exclusive nature which I have ascribed to them; and, in the second place, ample proof—reached by a careful analysis of certain agreements between D and Shakspere—that Shakspere was influenced in these cases by some original of D, instead of, *vice versa*, being here drawn upon by Struijs.

In considering the first stage of our reasoning, we may pass by hurriedly the agreements between D and Boaistuau. They really demand no proof; so close are they and so numerous that critics have always supposed the play to be founded chiefly upon the novel. Thus the names of certain characters—Montesch, Capellets, Thibout, Lord van der Schale, Anselmus—have evidently been suggested by forms similar to those which we find in Painter's translation of Boaistuau: Montesch, Capellet, Thibault, Bartholomew of Escala, Anselme. In Shakspere these names have been changed, in accordance with Brooke's initiative, respectively to Montague, Capulet, Tybalt, Escalus, and John. Likewise great blocks of dialogue have much closer correspon-

dences in Boaistuau than in Brooke or Shakspere—so, for example, the conversation between Romeo and Thibout just preceding the fight; Juliette's comments on Thibout's death and Romeo's deed; Capellets' angry words to Juliette at her refusal to accept Paris; and a considerable portion of Juliette's reflections before taking the sleeping-potion. Critics were probably led into such a hasty conclusion as to Struijs' chief indebtedness by the known existence, certainly as early as 1618, of a literal Dutch translation of Boaistuau.¹ The conclusion is manifestly false; but the agreements upon which it is based are perfectly genuine. Here is a convincing example. The words exchanged by Romeo and Thibout just before the fatal encounter read, according to Boaistuau, as follows:

Thibault tu peux cognoistre par la patience que j'ai euë jusques à l'heure present, que je ne suis point venu ici pour combatre ou toy & les tiens, mais pour moyenner la paix entre nous: & si tu pensois que par deffault de courage, j'eusse failly à mon devoir, tu ferois grād tort à ma reputation, mais je te prie de croire qu'il y a quelque autre particulier respect, qui m'a si bien commandé jusques ici, que je me suis contenu comme tu vois: duquel je te prie n'abuser, ains sois content de tant de sang respandu, & de tant de meurtres commis le passé, sans que tu me contraignes de passer les bornes de ma volonté. Ha traistre, dist Thibault, tu te penses sauver par le plat de ta lâgue, mais entendis à te defendre, car je te feray maintenant sentir quelle ne te pourra si bien garantir ou servir de bouclier que je ne t'oste la vie.²

Next I quote from D:

O Thibout, thou canst see from my patience that I have not come here to fight with thee; my only intention is sincerely to make peace between thy party and mine. And so if thou dost think that I did not take part for lack of courage, thou dost wrong mine honor. Therefore I beg thee, believe me—I swear it—that there was no desire on my part to do injury to thy faction, but it was rather a very particular affair. Be content, then, with the blood which has been shed and with the lives which have thus far been lost, without persistently forcing me to act contrary to my desire.

¹ The only extant form of this translation of Boaistuan's stories is that which came out in 1650; but this now appears to be the second edition. For information concerning the first edition see J. de Witte van Citters, *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1873, No. 18, pp. 140 ff. The same article furnishes a comparison of the Dutch translation with Struijs' play; on this latter subject see also H. E. Moltzer, *Shakspere's Invloed* (Groningen, 1874), p. 49.

² *Histoires Tragiques, extraictes des œuvres Italiennes de Bandel, & mises en nostre langue Françoise par Pierre Boaistuau surnommé Launay, natif de Bretaigne* (Paris, 1559), Vol. I, p. 55, V'.

Thibout. Ha, ha! traitor! thou thinkst by thy idle talk to escape me. No, no, look that thou defend thyself, and be ready for my strokes, for thou shalt not leave this place alive!¹

Here is Brooke's version:

Thou doest me wrong (quoth he) for I but part the fraye;
Not dread, but other waighty cause my hasty hand doth stay.
Thou art the cheefe of thine, the noblest eke thou art,
Wherfore leave of thy malice now, and helpe these folke to parte.
Many are hurt, some slayne, and some are like to dye:
No, coward traytor boy (qd he) straight way I mynde to trye,
Whether thy sugred talke, and tong so smootely fylde
Against the force of this my swerd shall serve thee for a shylde.²

Shakspere's phrasing at this point is so different that it need not be quoted. Certainly everyone will here recognize Boaistuan and not Brooke as the ultimate source of D. And what applies to this instance is true of the other instances which I have enumerated above.

We come now to the one important incident in D which in a certain sense is exactly reproduced only in Brooke's poem; for in Shakspere it has been significantly altered. Everyone remembers the familiar scene (III, v, 213 ff.) in which Juliet, after having antagonized her father and mother, at length turns for help to the nurse:

What say'st thou? hast thou not a word of joy?
Some comfort, nurse.

Nurse. Faith, here it is.
Romeo is banish'd, and all the world to nothing,
That he dares ne'er come back to challenge you;
Or, if he do, it needs must be by stealth.
Then, since the case so stands as now it doth,
I think it best you married with the county.
O, he's a lovely gentleman!
Romeo's a dishclout to him: an eagle, madam,
Hath not so green, so quick, so fair an eye

¹ *Romeo en Juliette*, door Jacob Struijs (Amsterdam, 1634), D 2 r°. Struijs died two or three years before the publication of his play. For help in translating Struijs' play I owe much to Professor Kalf, of Leyden, who showed at all times the utmost patience and kindness in correcting my blunders. To him and to my other friends in Netherland my heartiest thanks are due for their cordial appreciation of my work in Netherlandish literature; particularly to Professor Logeman, of Ghent; Professor Verdam and Dr. S. G. de Vries, of Leyden; Dr. A. J. Barnouw, of The Hague; and Dr. J. A. Worp, of Groningen.

² *Romeus and Juliet*, reprinted in *Shakespeare's Library*, second edition enlarged by Hazlitt (London, 1875), Vol. I, p. 134.

As Paris hath. Beshrew my very heart,
I think you are happy in this second match,
For it excels your first: or if it did not,
Your first is dead; or 't were as good he were,
As living here and you no use of him.

Jul. Speakest thou from thy heart?

Nurse. And from my soul too;
Or else beshrew them both.

Jul. Amen!

Nurse. What?

Jul. Well, thou hast comforted me marvellous much.
Go in; and tell my lady I am gone,
Having displeas'd my father, to Laurence' cell,
To make confession and to be absolv'd.

Nurse. Marry, I will; and this is wisely done. [Exit.]

Jul. Ancient damnation! O most wicked fiend!

Is it more sin to wish me thus forsown,
Or to dispraise my lord with that same tongue
Which she hath prais'd him with above compare
So many thousand times?—Go, counsellor;
Thou and my bosom henceforth shall be twain,—
I'll to the friar, to know his remedy;
If all else fail, myself have power to die. [Exit.]

Now, in both D and Brooke this deceiving of the nurse occupies a place later in the story. It comes after Juliet's visit to the friar, by whose good counsel Juliet's change of cheer is supposed to have been effected. The scene in D, which serves as a touching prologue to Juliette's ponderings over the possible fatal effects of the sleeping-potion, is as follows:

Juliette. Don't you see, nurse, how nicely all things are turning out? Who could have augured for me so soon this happiness! I certainly should not have believed I could forget my Romeo so soon; but what else is it? I must lookout for my own welfare, and yield to my father's wishes. Therefore, no longer perforce, but joyfully I am prepared to marry with Count Paris tomorrow. Shall Romeo hold me for untrue? What think you, nurse?

Nurse. No, my mistress, not at all. He well understands that he shall not possess you again; therefore he shall be content.

Juliette. Let us cease this talk, for I am sleepy. Since we must rise up early in the morning, let us go to bed; my bed, I suppose, is ready?

Nurse. Yes, quite ready.

Juliette. Well, then, you may go.

Nurse. I go. Good night. God give you sweet sleep, my mistress.
Juliette. The like to you.

[*Exit Nurse.*]

Oh, indeed! Well, you leave me just in time; for I could not have restrained my wretched grief any longer, with my husband so fixed in my thoughts.¹

I quote now from Brooke:

But Juliet the whilst her thoughts within her brest did locke;
 Even from the trusty nurce, whose secretnes was tryde.
 The secret counsell of her hart the nurce childe seeks to hide.
 Forsith to mocke her dame she dyd not sticke to lye,
 She thought no sinne with shew of truth, to bleare her nurces eye.
 In chamber secretly the tale she gan renew,
 That at the doore she tolde her dame as though it had been trew.
 The flattring nurce dyd prayse the fryer for his skill,
 And said that she had done right well by wit to order will.
 She setteth foorth at large the fathers furious rage,
 And eke she prayseth much to her, the second mariage,
 And County Paris now she praiseth ten times more,
 By wrong, then she her selfe by right, had Romeus praysde before.
 Paris shall dwell there still, Romeus shall not retourne,
 What shall it boote her life, to languish still and mourne.

These wordes and like, the nurce did speake, in hope to please,
 But greatly did these wicked wordes the ladies mynde disease;
 But ay she hid her wrath, and seemed well content,
 When dayly dyd the naughty nurce new arguments invent.²

In Boaistuau, and hence also in Painter, there is not the slightest suggestion of any such conversation between Juliet and the nurse.

With these facts before us, the situation becomes very significant. We find the incident in D and Brooke coming at the same point in the story, and Juliet's attitude given reasonableness by the same preceding event, namely, the friar's counsel. In Shakspere, on the other hand, the conversation has been shifted so as to lead up to Juliet's visit to the friar:

Go in; and tell my lady I am gone,
 Having displeas'd my father, to Laurence' cell,
 To make confession and to be absolv'd.

¹ *Op. cit.*, G 3 V^o.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 174, 175.

We must admit, therefore, that there is contact at this point between D and Brooke; or make the most unlikely supposition that Struijs, though taking this incident from Shakspere, chose for some uncalled-for reason to restore it to its original position in the poem.¹

It remains now to consider in detail the matter occurring exclusively in D and Shakspere. All of this need not be cited, but only those passages where the resemblance is very striking. Romeo in D, recounting to his boon companion, Phebidas, his experiences at the masquerade, rhapsodizes as follows:

There for the first time I beheld my love, who like a silver moon shone down upon her mates. Next other jewels a brilliant diamond she appeared. Her two eyes I saw sparkle as gleam Castor and Polux on high.²

In S (that is, Shakspere's drama), I, v, 46 ff.:

Romeo. O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright!
It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night
Like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear;
Beauty too rich for use, for earth too dear!
So shows a snowy dove trooping with crows,
As yonder lady o'er her fellow shows.

And II, ii, 15 ff.

Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven,
Having some business, do entreat her eyes
To twinkle in their spheres till they return.

Again in D, Romeo is waiting below Juliette's window, hoping to get a chance to speak to her. He says:

Oh that the blessed window would once open behind which my goddess lies in sweetest slumber! Through its opening streaming, my bright sun could requicken this half-dead soul of mine. O my dear love, knowest thou not my passion? Doth thy heart's blood not violently keep time with mine? Methinks that, were my lady in such plight, I should a witness of it have within me. O heavens! what do I see? A light in my lady's rooms begins to burn; my heart thrills and bounds

¹Attention is also called to the fact that in these extracts Shakspere in one case shows closer correspondence with Brooke than with D—in the nurse's praise of Paris; in another, with D as opposed to Brooke—in Juliet's expression of her impatience, and of her relief that the nurse has withdrawn. This looks as if some original of D had once served as a pre-Shaksperian link in the Romeo and Juliet story.

²*Op. cit.* A 4 ro.

from fear and joy. Oh, might I once accost my goddess on this spot, then were the burden lifted from my heart. Soft! let me listen to what she says.

[*Juliette leans out her window.*]

Jul. What troubled voice laments below me here? Who is it here goes prowling alone in the darkness and breaks my light sleep? Ah, by the moon's light I now see Romeo sheltered, 'neath my window standing.¹

In S (II, ii, 2 ff.):

Romeo. But soft! what light thro' yonder window breaks?

It is the east, and Juliet is the sun.

Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious moon,

It is my lady, O, it is my love!

O, that she knew she were!

Jul. Ay me!

Romeo [Aside]. Shall I hear more, or shall I speak at this?

Jul. What man art thou that thus bescreened in night
So stumblest on my counsel?

In neither Painter nor Brooke does the language at this point of the story bear any close resemblance to the passages which I have just quoted. Painter says merely:

And after he had bene there many times, missing the chieffest cause of his comming, Julietta, impatient of hir evill, one night repaired to hir window and perceived through the brightnesse of the moone hir friend Rhomeo hard under hir window, no lesse attended for, than he himself was waighting. Then she secretly with teares in hir eyes, and with voyce interrupted by sighes, sayd: "Signor Rhomeo, methinke that you hazardre your persone too much," etc.²

And the conversation then corresponds to dialogue in D and S immediately following that which I have quoted. Brooke gives much the same account as Painter:

And Juliet that now doth lacke her hearts releefe;
Her Romeus pleasant eyen (I mean) is almost dead for greefe.

¹ *Op. cit.*, B 1 ro.

² *Rhomeo and Julietta. The goodly Historie of the true and constant Loue betwene Rhomeo and Julietta, the one of whom died of poison, and the other of sorrow and heuinesse: wherin be comprised many aduentures of loue, and other deuises touching the same. The XXV. Nouel. Contained in Vol. II of the Palace of Pleasure (London, 1567), p. 224.*

Impatient of her woe, she hapt to leane one night
 Within her windowe, and anone the moone did shine so bright,
 That she espyde her love; her hart revived sprang
 And now for joy she clappes her hands, which erst for wo she wrang

"O Romeus (of your life) too lavas sure you are,
 That in this place, and at thys tyme, to hazard it you dare," etc.¹

After taking leave of Juliette at the break of day, Romeo, in D, departs with the resolve to put his affair before Friar Lourens. And the friar, discovered in front of his cell, opens the next scene with the following words:

The black curtains of heaven's dome fall down towards the west, letting the eastern sky grow pleasant with light. The messenger of the sun begins to color the horizon a fiery glow. Each bird draws out its head from under its wing and hops from branch to branch, and with its sweet voice sings the praise of God. But man lies still in his soft and senseless bed, dumb with restless slumber. He looks not toward the day, nor thinks but once of God; but dotes on idleness and sloth, etc.

[*He reads to himself from a little book.*]

Romeo. Soft! is it not he? Yes, there he goes muttering along, seeming to converse with the pages of the book. I will go to him and lay my affair before him. Good morning, father.

Friar Lourens. *Deo gratias*, my son. What brings thee here so early? This strikes me as most strange.²

In S the arrangement of scenes is exactly the same. Bidding Juliet adieu, Romeo determines to visit Friar Laurence and exit. The friar opens the next scene thus (II, iii, 1 ff.):

The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night,
 Chequering the eastern clouds with streaks of light,
 And flecked darkness like a drunkard reels
 From forth day's path and Titan's fiery wheels:
 Now, ere the sun advance his burning eye,

I must fill up this osier cage of ours
 With baleful weeds and precious-juiced flowers.

[*Enter Romeo.*]

Romeo. Good morning, father.

Fr. L. Benedicite!

What early tongue so sweet saluteth me?

Young son, it argues a distempered head, etc.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96.

² *Op. cit.*, B 2^{vo}.

Another one of these exclusive resemblances is brought out by the following: In D, Romeo, in recounting to Phebidas what happened at the banquet, explains that when he was recognized, all of the Capellets restrained their ire and feigned the utmost courtesy. So far this is in complete accord with all the versions of the story except Shakspere's, where Tybalt is with difficulty silenced by a stern rebuke from his uncle. A little later in D, however, there occurs something not at all unlike this Shakspelian situation. In a scene involving Capellets, Thibout, and Paris, Thibout, commenting on Romeo's conduct in appearing at the house of his enemy, starts a discussion by exclaiming:

Alas! friend Paris, it was the greatest agony for me not to chastise his impudence on the spot; my blood boiled from top to toe. And if it had not been for dishonoring the company I would have split his head in two before the eyes of all.

Capellets. It is better that you did not so.

Paris. There would have been little honor in it, too.

Thibout. Be it shame or honor, I say it here, and I swear it, that I shall be Romeo's undoing the very next time I meet him; or, if not, then he shall make me greet the dust.

Capellets. Pardon his youth.

Paris. He hath done little that is wrong.

Thibout. No my friend, not you nor anyone shall talk me out of this.

Capellets. Be better advised.¹

The well-known passage in S reads as follows (I, v, 56 ff.):

Tyb. This, by his voice, should be a Montague.

Fetch me my rapier, boy. What dares the slave

Come hither, cover'd with an antic face,

To fleer and scorn at our solemnity?

Now, by the stock and honor of my kin,

To strike him dead I hold it not a sin.

Cap. Why, how now, kinsman! Wherefore storm you so?

Tyb. Uncle, this is a Montague, our foe,

A villain that is hither come in spite,

To scorn at our solemnity this night.

Cap. Young Romeo is it?

Tyb. 'Tis he, that villain Romeo.

Cap. Content thee, gentle coz, let him alone;

He bears him like a portly gentleman;

¹ *Op. cit.*, B 3 Vo.

And, to say truth, Verona brags of him
 To be a virtuous and well govern'd youth:
 I would not for the wealth of all the town
 Here in my house do him disparagement;
 Therefore be patient, take no note of him:
 It is my will, the which if thou respect,
 Show a fair presence and put off these frowns,
 An ill-seeming semblance for a feast.

Tyb. It fits, when such a villain is a guest;
 I'll not endure him.

Cap. He shall be endured.

Tyb. Patience perforce with wilful choler meeting
 Makes my flesh tremble in their different greeting.
 I will withdraw: but this intrusion shall
 Now seeming sweet convert to bitter gall.

It has always been said that Shakspere's was the only version of the story in which Mercutio was killed in the fray between the two hostile houses, and in which therefore Romeo was given an almost righteous motive for attacking Tybalt. But observe the following passage from D, remembering that Mercutio is here impersonated by Phebidas:

Thibout, Count Paris, Marco, Bastro: Capellets, enter. Phebidas, Carlo, Paulo, Jacomo: Montessches, skirmishing with one another.

Thibout. Allons! friends, step up to them; each one look to his blade. The rogues stand, and draw their swords.

Paris. What! so courageous?

Marco. Can we endure this impudence?

Bastro. Come, then! why do we hold back? 'tis time to chastise them.

Thibout. You night-lopers! how comes it that you let not good folk sleep? What madness is this, that you bawl about the streets? Home with you at once! unless you are looking for hides striped with blows. Well!

Phebidas. To sling abuse is no art. What right have you so grossly to dub us night-lopers? Would you dare answer me this, point for point?

Thibout. What say you, naught but villain? Have you the courage to brandish a dagger's point? I think not. Come, then! I will teach you—have you a heart?—to become the fencing-master of the other world.

Paulo. Impudent fool!

Marco. Come on!

Jacomo. You see that we are not retreating very much, you blustering wind-bags!

Thibout. You shall soon pay for that. Now stand, stand! give way not a step.

Phebidas. I step back only to get my wind. There! your mantle just saved you from a deadly wound.

Marco. Give way! give way!—you have no chance—before I stab you through the heart.

Carlo. Step up! you begin to brag too soon.

Paris. There, then!

Paulo. That missed.

Bastro. Oh, that came too near. Expect the same from me.

Jacomo. Behold! you put your life at stake.

[*Romeo comes out and speaks while they fight.*]

Romeo. Make haste, my feet!—why do you fearfully hold back?—that I may soon be with my soul's delight. What may it mean that I feel in my heart the shadow of a sad misfortune?

Thibout. How is that for a touch?

Phebidas. I'm done for.

Jacomo. That shall be avenged.

Romeo. What do I hear? They are really in earnest. Oh! they are my friends. I must manage to stop this fighting.

[*Romeo tries to separate them, but Thibout then proceeds to thrust at him.*]¹

Then follows a scene in which Romeo, despite himself, is forced to encounter Thibout. The encounter in S is too well known to require quoting in full; a few lines will suffice (III, i, 86 ff.):

Tybalt. I am for you. [*Drawing.*]

Romeo. Gentle Mercutio, put thy rapier up.

Merc. Come, sir, your passado. [*They fight.*]

Romeo. Draw, Benvolio; beat down their weapons.

Gentlemen, for shame, forbear this outrage!

Tybalt. Mercutio, the prince expressly hath

Forbidden bandying in Verona streets:

Hold, Tybalt! Good Mercutio!

[*Tybalt under Romeo's arm stabs Mercutio and flies with his followers.*]

Merc. I am hurt.

The situation in neither Painter nor Brooke contains any hint of Mercutio's death.

¹ *Op. cit.* D 1 V^o.

Shortly after this point in the story, Shakspere shows us Romeo at the friar's cell desperately bewailing his fate. It is worth while to compare this scene with the corresponding scene in D, both in respect to arrangement of material and to dialogue. In S the scene is occupied for some time with Romeo's ravings, which are kept somewhat in restraint by the comforting friar. Then knocking is heard, and the friar is naturally alarmed for Romeo's safety; needlessly, however, for the visitor proves to be the trusty nurse. She enters, and from her Romeo learns of Juliet's desperate plight. It is arranged that Romeo shall visit his mistress the same night, and exit nurse. The conversation between Romeo and the friar is then resumed for a short time, before the scene culminates.

In part the scene reads as follows:

Fr. L. O, then I see that madmen have no ears.

Arise; one knocks; good Romeo, hide thyself.

Nurse [within]. Let me come in and you shall know my errand;
I come from Lady Juliet.

Fr. L. Welcome then.

[Enter Nurse.]

Nurse. O holy friar, O tell me, holy friar,
Where is my lady's lord, where's Romeo?

O, he is even in my mistress' case,
Just in her case! O woful sympathy!
Piteous predicament! Even so lies she,
Blubbering and weeping, weeping and blubbering.

Romeo. Spakest thou of Juliet? how is it with her?

Nurse. O, she says nothing, sir, but weeps and weeps;
And now falls on her bed; and then starts up,
And Tybalt calls; and then on Romeo cries,
And then downfalls again.

Exactly the same plan is followed in D, the dialogue, too, is very similar. I quote from the middle of the scene:

Fr. L. My son, keep to thy senses . . . Truly, thy grief exceeds all bounds. Methinks I hear some one. Still! I will go first and see who

it is, that thou mayst not be betrayed; and so it be not a trusty friend, he shall remain outside. Ha! 'tis the nurse. Now I may open the door.

[Enter Nurse.]

Romeo. My heart is comforted. What may she bring? Welcome, nurse; how is it with my Juliette? What tidings bringest thou me?

Nurse. Alas! Romeo, my mistress lies for thy sake in extreme grief; she sighs the whole day long, and cannot sleep an hour of the night—so presses her her sorrow. My heart breaks to hear her moan and sob in the bitterest of the night. Thy absence, my lord, makes her often call for death!

There is a total lack of such dialogue in Painter and Brooke. Painter simply states that the nurse came to the friar, who agreed to send Romeo to his mistress that evening. Brooke gives the nurse exactly the same rôle:

By this, unto his cell, the nurce with spedye pace,
Was comme the nerest way; she sought no ydel resting place.
The fryer sent home the newes of Romeus certain helth,
And promesse made (what so befell) he should that night by stelth
Comme to his wonted place, that they in nedefull wise
Of theyr affayres in time to comme, might thorowly devyse.
Those joyfull newes, the nurce brought home with merry joy, etc.²

One more citation will perhaps be sufficient to clinch for the reader the reality of this exclusive agreement between D and S. The lines which I shall now quote all have to do with Romeo's leave-takings of Juliet. In S there are two: one the first evening in the orchard, the other just before Romeo sets out for Verona. In D there is one additional farewell, as indeed in the narrative versions; namely, on the night when Romeo visits Juliette under most propitious circumstances. This visit Shakspere has naturally omitted, inserting some of its details, perhaps, in the second of his two scenes. The first evening that Romeo is in the orchard Juliette in D exclaims:

I love thee, it is true, and am wholly thine; but ah! my love, too horribly I fear that our passion shall come to naught, all for the deadly hatred which my kin have sworn to thine.³

At the corresponding point in S Juliet expresses the same sentiment (II, ii, 116 ff.):

¹ *Op. cit.*, E 2 20.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131.

³ *Op. cit.*, B, 1 22.

.... although I joy in thee,
I have no joy of this contract tonight:
It is too rash, too unadvis'd, too sudden.

Some features of the second and third leave-takings in D also remind one of the familiar last farewell in S. The trusty nurse becomes anxious because of the length of Romeo's stay. She says:

Good people, hurry! I see Aurora rising up red in the east:

[*Romeo proceeds to climb down.*]

Juliette. Farewell, with this kiss, my love. God keep you safe.²

Then in the third leave-taking:

Romeo. Alas! how time flies! the clock already says four. My dearest wife, I must depart at once.

Juliette. Is it already so late? this night has seemed to me much shorter than the half hour I waited for thee.

Romeo. My time approaches.

Juliette. Alas!

Romeo. Do not give way to sadness.

Juliette. Thy going makes my heart most heavy, as if we never more should meet together.

Romeo. Put away this idle fancy, which lays a heavy doubt upon thy heart. Think not upon the darkest path, but picture a sun-lit future. Well then, soul of my soul, with this one kiss I needs must take my leave; it is high time.

Juliette. O bitter parting! it breaks my heart in two. I shall die, my love, of grief.

Romeo. Be patient yet, I bid thee, and put this sorrow from thy heart; like sorrow presses me, and yet I needs must go. Farewell, my wife.

Juliette. O sweet mouth, let me kiss thee for the last. O my soul!

Romeo. I must be gone with haste; I must descend. Be content, my love, and trust that fortune will soon change our sorrow and grief to joy. For the last, farewell.

[*He climbs down.*]

Juliette. Farewell, my only lord and master. Alas! my grief has made me giddy—I fear lest I fall. [*Exit.*]²

This should be compared carefully with the following from Shakspere (III, v, 1 ff.):

¹ *Op. cit.*, C 3 v.^o.

² *Op. cit.*, F 1 v.^o.

Juliet. Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day.

Nurse. The day is broke; be wary; look about. [Exit.]

Romeo. Farewell, farewell! one kiss and I'll descend.
[He goeth down.]

Juliet. Art thou gone so? love, lord, ay, husband, friend!

O, think'st thou we shall ever meet again?

Romeo. I doubt it not; and all these woes shall serve
For sweet discourses in our time to come.

Juliet. O God, I have an ill-divining soul!
Methinks I see thee, now thou art below,

As one dead in the bottom of a tomb:

Either my eyesight fails, or thou look'st pale.

Romeo. And trust me, love, in my eye so do you.

Dry sorrow drinks our blood. Adieu, adieu! [Exit.]

Painter and Brooke, at this point of the story, could have furnished Shakspeare with next to nothing. In regard to the last two leave-takings, it is stated by both authorities, though not in direct discourse, that the lovers, disturbed by the approach of Phœbus, make their adieus, Romeo on the first occasion kissing his mistress good-by, and on the second swearing eternal constancy, amid much lamenting by both.

So much for the passages in which D agrees exclusively with one or another of the three works. Surely sufficient citation of these has been made to confirm my original hypothesis—that Struijs either made use of Boaistuau, Brooke, and Shakspeare—all three; or drew his material from some once extant document which contributed largely to the growth of the Romeo and Juliet story in England, before it reached Shakspeare's hands. The former supposition, as was indicated at the outset, seems most unlikely. But in the next stage of our reasoning it will, I hope, appear not only unlikely but quite untenable.

II

To establish this point beyond doubt will require some psychological study of certain other matter occurring only in D and S; for the discussion now resolves itself into a question of mental

reaction. We shall find, I think, parallel passages which, if judged impartially and quite apart from any thought of their time or place of composition, will seem to imply that lines in D stimulated Shakspere; and not, *vice versa*, that the Shaksperian lines reacted upon Struijs. If real traces of such mental reaction exist, then the inference will be inevitable that Shakspere was influenced in reality by some lost source of D, since D itself was not composed until after his death.

Now, there are, indeed, lines in D which in every case look like the starting-points of Shakspere's subtler, more compact creations. For it will never do to infer that we here have in D Shakspere's drama unaccountably garbled and degenerate. On the other hand, as everybody knows, Shakspere's mind was always widely reactive: a line, a word, the barest hint in whatever source he was using stirred for a moment his imagination, and then became practically transformed. The following quotations will, I hope, bring out the point I am trying to establish. When Romeo, in S, receives from his man the false news of Juliet's death, he says (V, i, 24):

Is it even so? Then I defy you, stars!

Meaning, probably, that he defies fate to do him any further harm, since this news has already killed him. But in D there is at this point a much more elaborate passage. It reads as follows:

Is my mistress dead? is it true? How comes it then that Phœbus still shines on? Or can he still without flickering cast his gaze upon the earth? Away day! away day! depart and leave me in my grief; and draw the black hag, Night, before your eyes *Fade, wretched stars,* and lead Diana from this place; let hell's deep darkness settle on me here.¹ Here is a typical Senecan wail which Shakspere has apparently condensed to a poignant exclamation.

To continue: Romeo, in D, while he is waiting below Juliette's window, thus invokes night:

Come, thou dark shroud, as is thy wont, and cover with thy shadow the half of this world's orb; while I in lonely gloom make echo rewail my own lament, in the innermost of Venus' temple, where my Juliette is.² In S (II, ii, 159 ff.) Juliet, thinking that Romeo has withdrawn from the orchard, cries:

¹ *Op. cit.*, H 2 v^o.

² *Op. cit.*, B 1 r^o.

Hist! Romeo, hist! O, for a falconer's voice,
 To lure this tassel-gentle back again!
 Bondage is hoarse, and may not speak aloud;
Else would I tear the cave where echo lies,
And make her airy tongue more hoarse than mine
With repetition of my Romeo's name.

The essential similarity of these two conceits is of course apparent. And since they appear at practically the same point of the story, there can be little doubt that one was dependent upon the other, with the chances greatly in favor of Shakspere's having been the borrower, for there is exactly the sort of transformation that one would expect at his hands.

The next instance of this kind is found in the orchard scene. A part of Romeo's love-making, in D, is the following:

Thou, O Goddess, art the sole beacon towards which I sail. Wilt thou unpityingly withhold thy light from mine eye, then must my ship, to my ruin, perish; for unless some haven be at hand, its freight will sink it to the depths.¹

Compare with this Romeo's similar love-making in S (II, ii, 82 ff.):

I am no pilot; yet, wert thou as far
 As that vast shore wash'd with the farthest sea,
 I would adventure for such merchandise.

Again, when Romeo in D is leaving Verona for Mantua, the thought of his love brings to his lips this sad lament:

When I think that I am banished from that divine being whose sweetest nectar I may no more taste; whose dear mouth I may no more reach unto; whose godlike voice my ears, as if unworthy, shall hear no more—I fall o'erwhelmed in tears.²

At the friar's cell Romeo in S expresses similar grief (III, iii, 29 ff.):

'Tis torture, and not mercy: heaven is here,
 Where Juliet lives; and every cat and dog
 And little mouse, every unworthy thing,
 Live here in heaven and may look on her;
 But Romeo may not: more validity,
 More honorable state, more courtship lives
 In carrion-flies than Romeo: they may seize
 On the white wonder of dear Juliet's hand
 And steal immortal blessing from her lips.

¹ *Op. cit.*, B 1 ro.

² *Op. cit.*, F 2 ro.

Who, even in pure and vestal modesty,
Still blush, as thinking their own kisses sin;
But Romeo may not; he banished.

Certainly this idea in D might easily be construed as the barest embryo of the Shaksperian lines; it could never have resulted from a slovenly adaptation of these.

A very few more examples of this sort will perhaps be sufficient. After Romeo, in D, has learned from his man of Juliette's supposed death, he says, among other things:

O death, O cruel death! thee will I curse to all eternity. Must thou needs have reft that dear life, so before her time? Must thou needs have hastened to banish from the light of day that sweet mistress whose dear eyes rejoiced the earth? Didst thou think her gain thy triumph? No, 'tis to thy shame that thou dost root from the earth the fairest flower, and sparest the rankest weed. Thou dost the greatest injury to the world that thou robtest her of her choicest, and leavest the halt, the blind, the deaf. . . . O archer, void of reason, or else uncertain of thy aim! thou hast envied the earth the fostering of her, and thou grudgeth me the joyful embraces of such a wife!¹

The corresponding passage in S comes a little later in the story; namely, when Romeo is at Juliet's tomb. He says (V, iii, 45, 46):

Thou detestable maw, thou womb of death,
Gorg'd with the sweetest morsel of the earth;

and ll. 91 ff.:

. . . . O my love! my wife!
Death, that hath suck'd the honey of thy breath,
Hath had no power yet upon thy beauty.

. . . . Ah, dear Juliet,
Why art thou yet so fair? Shall I believe
That unsubstantial death is amorous,
And that the lean abhorred monster keeps
Thee here in dark to be his paramour?

In D, after Pedro has helped Romeo to effect an entrance to the tomb, he becomes thoroughly frightened:

From fear I seem to see a troupe of ghosts prowling about me, and to hear groans and loathsome crackling sounds. . . . I will sit down here to sleep a while, to rid my brain of this dread fantasy.²

¹ *Op. cit.*, H 3 Vo.

² *Op. cit.*, H 4 Vo.

In S, it will be remembered, there are two servants at the tomb: the page of Paris and Romeo's man, Balthazar, it being generally admitted that Paris' visit to Juliet's tomb was added to the story by Shakspere himself. When the page is bidden to withdraw, he says (V, iii, 10 ff.):

I am almost afraid to stand alone
Here in the churchyard; yet I will adventure.

A little later Balthazar confides to the friar (l. 137):

As I did sleep under this yew-tree here, etc.

It is perhaps not without the bounds of coincidence that in both D and S a servant should be afraid of spooks in the churchyard; but that in each Romeo's man should go to sleep, while his master is engaged in such precarious business, is good proof of borrowing. Suppose, therefore, that in an old English play Shakspere found this incident much the same as I have described it in D. How natural, then, for him, in adjusting it to his newly created situation, to distribute these two states, fear and drowsiness, respectively, to the tender young page and to Romeo's man!

To test this explanation one may revert for a moment to a contrary supposition—that Struijs was here pilfering Shakspere. If this was the case, why did he choose to obliterate the important feature of Paris' visit to the tomb, and to conform thereby to the older versions? Here is a case, then, of peculiar significance, for it brings out the similarity in D both to S and to the earlier form of the story. What better proof could there be that an English source of D served as a link somewhere between Boaistuau and S! Nor is this the only instance of this sort; there are at least two others. In the first orchard scene Juliet, in D, is able to recognize Romeo because of the moonlight, just as in Boaistuau and Brooke; Romeo does not need, as in Shakspere, to speak to disclose himself. And yet the "business" in both dramas at this point is surprisingly close. He stands, in D, singing Juliette's praises beneath her window, out of which she then leans. "Soft!" he whispers, "let me listen to what she says." In this design, however, he is thwarted because she has become aware of someone's presence. "What troubled voice," she asks, "laments below

me here? Who is it here goes prowling alone in the darkness, and breaks my light sleep? Ah, by the moonlight I now see Romeo sheltered, 'neath my window standing." In this complicated instance, what really happened seems to have been this: The source of D followed Boaistuau in having Juliette recognize Romeo in the moonlight, but added the conversation which here corresponds with S, as also Romeo's expressed wish that he might secretly overhear Juliette's words—a wish, however, that was not gratified—not at least until it fell under Shakspere's notice, who at once saw the dramatic and poetic power to be gained by working out this hint.

The other similar case can be described more briefly. Romeo, in D, takes leave of Juliette three times—the first night in the orchard, on the marriage-night, and finally when he departs from Verona. This agrees well enough with Boaistuau and Brooke, both of which authorities account for the first and last leave-takings, and say in addition that after the marriage Romeo frequently visited Juliet in her chamber. The second of the three scenes in D is naturally not to be found in S; in place of it there is Juliet's well-known soliloquy, beginning, "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds." The phrasing in all these three scenes in D, however, shows marked correspondence with lines in S, rather than with Boaistuau or Brooke. What does this mean? Again that the source of D was a pre-Shaksperian link in the story.

The argument thus far may be summarized as follows: The first part tended to prove that D was indebted either to all three of the works, Boaistuau, Brooke, and S, or to some English document, anterior to Shakspere, but now lost, which once added to the growth of the Romeo and Juliet fable. The second part of the argument made the latter of these suppositions alone seem tenable, by establishing indebtedness on Shakspere's part to this assumed English prototype.¹

¹The objection may possibly be raised that Struijs may have based his play upon Shakspere's first, 1591 (?) version, and that therefore the cases cited in this section of my paper are only, after all, examples of Shakspere making over his earlier self. This objection, however, seems to me hardly valid. For in these revisions there are the distinctive features of Shakspere's genius, which were not lacking to him even in the early period of his career.

III

Hitherto I have taken it for granted that the lost source of D was a play. And, indeed, this seems hardly to require proof, since it would have been far easier for this type of literature to stray from England over to Holland, through the agency of traveling troupes of English actors, than for an obscure prose romance or poem. To assume off-hand, however, that this source was the play referred to by Arthur Brooke might appear a little hasty, since a popular story of this sort might well enough have been dramatized in England two or three times before, say 1590. But other things than Brooke's mere reference urge one to place the play at an early date.

Thus we shall find it instructive to make some comparison of D and the poem; especially of those points of contact in the case of which Boaistuau, and therefore Painter, furnish no correspondences. These are two in number—the scenes containing Romeo's ravings at the friar's cell, and the nurse's attempt to reconcile Juliet to the marriage with Paris. In the former case, resemblances in phrasing being rather vague, no inference can be drawn other than that, as far as the mere incident is concerned, the English play and the poem were certainly interdependent. A study of the latter case, however, will prove to be more illuminating. In D the nurse makes no attempt whatsoever to praise Paris above Romeo. Her only comment on the situation is her reply to Juliette's question: "Shall Romeo hold me for untrue, what think you, nurse?" She says: "No, my mistress, not at all. He well understands that he shall not possess you again; therefore he shall be content." In Brooke's poem the matter is managed differently. Here the nurse

. . . prayseth much to her, the second mariage,
And County Paris now she prayseth ten times more,
By wrong, then she her selfe by right, had Romeus praydde before.
Paris shall dwell there still, Romeus shall not retourne.
What shall it boote her life, to languish still and mourne!'

If the English source of D had drawn this incident from Brooke, would there not still remain in D more of this dramatic

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 174, 175.

irony? For to have the nurse praise Romeo above Paris, when Juliet is in such desperate straits, furnishes an emotional situation which even the crudest dramatist, if once acquainted with it, could hardly have disregarded.¹

To place the play in point of time before the poem also explains other peculiarities. One sees, for example, why there is in D no following of Brooke's initiative in making the nurse a comic character. Brooke had mapped out at least rough outlines for the Shaksperian scenes in which the nurse, to the great amusement of any audience, visits Romeo, and then brings back a message—haltingly given—to Juliet. Certainly no one dramatizing this story, and knowing the poem, would have ignored all of the following lines, which were so easily convertible into dramatic form:²

To Romeus she goes of him she doth desyre,
 To know the meane of mariage, by councell of the fryre.
 On Saterday quod he, if Juliet come to shrift,
 She shalbe shrived and maried, how lyke you noorse this drift?
 Now by my truth (quod she) God's blessing have your hart,
 For yet in all my life I have not heard of such a part.
 Lord how you yong men can such crafty wiles devise,
 If that you love the daughter well, to bleare the mother's eyes.
 An easy thing it is, with cloke of holines,
 To mocke the sely mother that suspecteth nothing lesse.
 But that it pleased you to tell me of the case,
 For all my many yeres perhaps, I should have found it scarce.
 Now for the rest let me and Juliet alone;
 To get her leave, some feate excuse I will devise anone;

 And then she sweares to him, the mother loves her well;
 And how she gave her sucke in youth, she leaveth not to tell.
 A pretty babe (quod she) it was when it was yong;
 Lord how it could full pretely have prated with its tong!

 And thus of Juliets youth began this prating noorse,
 And of her present state to make a tedious long discourse.
 For though he pleasure tooke in hearing of his love,
 The message aunswer seemed him to be of more behove.

¹ Even the young Cambridge student (see Appendix II), in his hasty Latin dramatization of Brooke, used this passage extensively.

² Here again the Cambridge student took his cue adequately from Brooke.

Then he vj crownes of gold out of his pocket drew,
 And gave them her; a slight reward (quod he) and so adiew.
 In seven yeres twise tolde she had not bowd so lowe,
 Her crooked knees, as now they bowe. . . .

She takes her leave, and home she hyes with speedy pace;
 The chaumber doore she shuts, and then she saith with smyling face:
 Good newes for thee my gyrtle, good tidings I thee bring.
 Leave off thy woonted song of care, and now of pleasure sing.
 For thou mayst hold thy selfe the happiest under sonne,
 That in so little while, so well so worthy a knight hast woone.
 The best yshapde is he, and hath the fayrest face,
 Of all this towne, and there is none hath halfe so good a grace:
 So gentle of his speche, and of his counsel wise:
 And still with many prayses more she heaved him to the skies.
 Tell me els what (quod she) thus evermore I thought;
 But of our mariage say at once, what aunswer have you brought?
 Nay soft, quoth she, I feare your hurt by sodain joye;
 I list not play, quoth Juliet, although thou list to toye.

Nothing was done or said that she hath left untold,
 Save only one, that she forgot the taking of the golde.¹

Here was a gratuity for any dramatist. And, once in the English play, the scenes would never have been dropped out by a Dutch translator or remodeler; for if there is one thing in broad comedy which causes the Dutch the greatest merriment, even to this day, it is the garrulity of a housemaid.

Assumed priority on the part of the English play would likewise explain why its author made such extensive use of Boaistuau instead of turning to the much more elaborate account in Brooke. From the Frenchman he apparently got the proper names and great blocks of dialogue. Whereas a comparison of D with the poem reveals but the two points of contact which have just been commented upon.

Of course, it is fair at this point to put the question: Why did Brooke, except in two instances, entirely ignore the play? The answer is not far to seek. The play, judging by D, added to the growth of this fable, it is true, a good deal of figurative language and many suggestions for the arrangement of scenes; but, on the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 102-5.

other hand, introduced but one important new incident—the death of Mercutio. And this latter is brought in so by the way that its purpose might easily have escaped detection. A narrative poet, therefore, like Brooke, would have found little to glean from the play; for him the more kindred *novella*-writer, Boaistuau, would have been a sufficient guide. Further, Brooke probably had the text of Boaistuau directly at hand, whereas he undoubtedly had to trust to his memory for the play.¹ Hence it seems safe to conclude that the English source of D antedated the poem.

With this much determined, the date of composition of the play falls within very narrow limits—between 1562 and 1559, the years in which the English poem and the French *novella*, respectively, first appeared.

IV

The mere knowledge that an English play on this subject existed as early perhaps as 1560, and that Shakspere used it extensively, does not, however, entirely satisfy one's curiosity. One wonders about the nature of this tragedy. Did it share with its contemporaries, *Gorboduc*, *Cambyses*, *Appius and Virginia*, and *Tancred and Gismunda*, in all the Senecan characteristics which were clogging the drama at that time? Or did it depend for its tragedy solely on the tremendous situation inherent in the plot? These are questions which one can answer only by referring to D.

Fortunately, the play seems not to have been greatly changed at the hands of the Dutch redactor. In only one instance, indeed, is there positive evidence of interpolation. This is where the nurse, apropos of Romeo's visit to Juliette's chamber, grossly compares feminine temperaments, Italian and Dutch. In other instances the author probably adhered pretty closely to his original.

Two things, at least, make this seem likely. For, in the first place, as I pointed out before, considerable portions of D are nothing more than slavish paraphrases of Boaistuau, indicating that its author's method was certainly no more original than that of his English predecessor. And, in the second place, many lines in D, as we have amply seen, still have a close similarity to their coun-

¹For reminding me of the cumulative value as testimony of this literary condition I must thank Professor Neilson, of Columbia University

terparts in S. The force of this testimony will at once become apparent if one but reflect what Shakspere's method of adaptation habitually was. He seldom paraphrased, he transformed. Take the following for example:

Brooke:

Art thou quoth he [the friar to Romeo] a man? thy shape
saith so thou art;
Thy crying and thy weeping eyes denote a woman's hart.

So that I stood in doute this howre (at the least)
If thou a man, or woman wert, or else a brutish beast.

Shakspere (III, iii, 109-11):

Fr. L. Art thou a man? thy form cries out thou art;
Thy tears are womanish; thy wild acts denote
The unreasonable fury of a beast.

Here one, surely, observes a tightening up of clauses and a deepening of the imagination sufficient to transform Brooke's lines from doggerel to poetry of venerable poise, quite suited to the sternest mood of the genial friar. Now, if the Dutch author, too, had remodeled to any great extent his English source, it is to be seriously doubted whether the parallelisms already cited in D and S would still be so numerous and comparatively close. Let the unconvinced but place side by side the *Romeo and Juliet* of Shakspere and Lope de Vega's dramatization of this fable. The absolute dissimilarity of the two plays is proof of what results when playwrights of imagination attack the same story. On these grounds, therefore, it seems highly probable that Struijs did not bother to make many changes.

V

If this inference be just, a description of D will serve well enough to characterize the English original. Perhaps, first of all, since D is so generally inaccessible, a brief analysis should be given of each scene. Preceding the play there is, as in Shakspere, a prologue outlining the action that is to follow. In the opening scene of the play, Romeo, besought by Phebidas—who corresponds to Mercutio—to reveal the cause of his depression and

solitary wanderings, at length owns to being involved in a love affair the hopelessness of which makes him mad. Phebidas, however, is most encouraging; he informs Romeo in a lyric stanza of six lines that the mind of woman changes like the wind; he must therefore persist and not despair. Whereupon Romeo is induced to recount the circumstances of his first meeting with Juliette, which occurred at a banquet at Capellets' house, to which Romeo went from a sheer love of danger. After he had taken off his masque, as he tells Phebidas, the Capellets, though surprised at this evident effrontery, still concealed their anger. Juliette, he continues, every portion of whose fair body he proceeds in a lyric stanza to eulogize, sat next to him once during the evening, and pressed his hand with amorous sighs. Romeo, though admitting perforce the impossibility of intermarriage between the two families, is yet quite beside himself with passion. He has been passing by Juliette's house, he says, in the day time, exchanging glances with her; but, realizing the danger to which this exposed her, he now approaches her house only by night, hoping sometime to get a chance to address her. Phebidas, alarmed at this state of affairs, yet seeing that any attempt at dissuasion would be futile, wishes his friend all success, and exit.

In scene ii Romeo is discovered beneath Juliette's window, invoking the shroud of night to shelter him. While he stands rapturously singing her praises, he sees a light suddenly flash in her window. Then Juliette appears, and though startled at first by this intrusion, soon perceives by means of the moonlight that it is Romeo. At once she fears for his safety, but is reassured, and at length responds to his ardent love-making, being first convinced that marriage is his intention. It is arranged that he shall disclose their affair to Friar Lourens and shall urge him to appoint a time for the marriage. As the dawn is beginning to appear, Romeo sadly takes his leave, resolving to visit the friar as soon as possible.

At the beginning of scene iii Friar Lourens is discovered in soliloquy, which reaches the extent of some twenty lines before Romeo appears and sets forth his desperate case. The friar's objections are only overruled when he hears that Romeo, rather

than forego this union with Juliette, will take his life. Finally a plan for the marriage is devised: Romeo is to be concealed in the cell the following day and to wait for Juliette to come to confession.

Scene iv finds Capellets, Thibout, and Paris in conversation concerning the fierce feud between the two families. Thibout, insisting that his self-restraint at the feast which Romeo had the impudence to visit made him swallow much gall, fiercely denounces Romeo and swears revenge, being, however, rebuked in turn by Paris and Capellets. Juliette enters for a moment to obtain permission from her father to attend confession. After her withdrawal Paris pays her a high compliment, whereupon old Capellets defends the proposition that parents are apt to be happier in the possession of a daughter than of a son, enumerating the scrapes which a son is likely to get into. Thibout, at once piqued by this, takes of course the other side. Then Paris steps in as peacemaker, agreeing in general with each, but in particular with Capellets, since, as he says, "You have a paragon, pleasing to both God and man; I do not believe that the earth can boast of her equal." Further self-felicitations by Capellets follow, in which the author has mingled dramatic irony almost too plenteously. *Exeunt* all three. The audience then sees Romeo and Juliette in the act of being married; this, however, is effected by pantomime.

Act II. The first scene of this act is devoted to a long monologue in which Paris professes love for Juliette and displays some fear that she may not accept him. From a scrap of dialogue between Romeo and Pedro at the outset of scene ii we learn that the ladder has been procured, and that Juliette awaits her lover, it now being toward midnight. Before he enters her window, Romeo, half-delirious, rejoices at the smiles with which Fortune is at present regarding him. Then he goes within, leaving the nurse in an outer room to soliloquize at some length, and with great indecency, on a subject which in Shakspere is found beautifully refined in Juliet's monologue (III, ii, 1 ff.) beginning, "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds."

Scene iii is occupied with a discussion by several members of Capellets' faction, arising from some information imparted by Thi-

bout. He has heard that a party of the Monteschés are to spend the evening at Madame Masor's—apparently a notorious inn—and is determined to attack the party on the way home. Paris at once objects, fearing that blood may be spilt and a great strife caused, but is at length entirely overruled.

In the fourth scene Phebidas and his associates appear on the stage, half drunk as a result of their gay evening. Phebidas, to the great delight of his companions, retails a flirtation which he has just had with Margrita. Soon they are joined by Jacomo, who has avoided Madam Masor's and who, by professing a single-hearted love, serves as a good foil to the gay, dashing, fickle Phebidas, who finds something lovable in every girl, "provided she be pretty and accessible." At this juncture they are set upon by the Capellets. A lively scene ensues, in which there is blustering on each side. Then Romeo comes upon the stage, mumbling praises of his love, just in time to see Thibout kill Phebidas. At once he tries to interfere, saying that his heart is inclined rather to friendship than to hatred; but finally, inflamed by Thibout's mockery, he pursues and kills this assailant.

Act III. "Curtains open; the Capellets in mourning with the body of Thibout. The Monteschés on the other side, prepared to exculpate Romeo. The Lord of the Council of Verona." Capellets proceeds to charge Romeo with murder, but is answered by Monteschés, who defends his son's action by relating how the affair took place. The lord of the council banishes Romeo forever from Verona.

The second scene opens with a long lament uttered by Juliette alone in her bedroom. At first upbraiding Romeo, she in turn falls to chiding her tongue for such uncharitable words, and sinks upon her bed in utter exhaustion, just as the nurse enters. At length, however, being aroused and somewhat cheered, she forces the nurse, by herself bewailing Thibout's death, to utter generous sentiments in Romeo's defense. Her attendant finally volunteers to get word from Romeo, whom she believes to be in hiding at the friar's cell.

The third scene finds Romeo at the friar's. He complains of fickle fortune, which has turned his bliss to banishment, much

preferring death to living out of Juliette's presence. Not at all encouraged by the friar's suggestion that the judgment which has been passed upon him will probably soon be lightened, he goes almost out of his senses from despair. At this point knocking is heard, and the friar, looking out cautiously that Romeo may not be betrayed, is relieved to find that it is the nurse. Inquiring of her how her mistress fares, Romeo learns that Juliette does nothing but weep and long for death; whereupon he promises to go to her chamber that evening before quitting Verona. Although this plan is vigorously opposed by the friar, who considers it dangerous, Romeo insists that he would not omit the visit, even though he knew that the streets through which he must pass were paved with nickers.

Act IV. Juliette is seen leaning on her window, awaiting Romeo. Though in despair at her unhappy lot, she intends to help Romeo endure his trials. Her lover soon appears, entering by means of the ladder, and exclaiming: "Ah, my love!" Juliette cries passionately: "Oh, might I swoon to death in these arms of thine!" She is determined, as in Brooke and Painter, to accompany him to Mantua, if not as his wife, at least as his page. From this, however, she is at length dissuaded when Romeo shows her the inevitable misfortune which this course would occasion. He promises to return to Verona in three months, if in that time his sentence is not remitted, and by force of arms to carry her off as his wife. Seeing that the dawn is breaking, he takes affectionate leave of Juliette, who is all the more distressed at letting him go because she has a premonition that she shall never again see him. Exit Juliette. At the foot of the ladder Romeo bids a tender farewell to the house which has been the scene of his greatest happiness.

The second scene is devoted to a monologue by Paris, from which we gather the information that Juliette has been promised to him by Capellets, who means, however, to give the count a chance to woo her, not wishing to force his daughter to the marriage, unless this be absolutely necessary.

Following this scene, Romeo, with his servant, Pedro, is discovered bidding farewell to Verona. He compares himself to a

rudderless ship tossed on relentless waves, and becomes desperate as he reflects that he is banished forever from Juliette's sight. In dismissing Pedro he enjoins on him the duty of bringing frequent news of Juliette, and then resumes his sorrowful way to Mantua.

In scene iv Paris informs the audience that he has failed to get a favorable reply from Juliette, but that he is still hopeful. Capellets, appearing at this juncture, is astounded to hear of his daughter's attitude, and swears angrily that she shall obey him; nor is he diverted from this decision by Paris' dislike of any such compulsion. Exit Paris, and enter Juliette, who protests that she would gladly die to avoid this marriage. In a frenzy, however, her father reminds her, as in Brooke and Boaistuau, of the supreme authority which their ancestors, the Romans, had over their children, urging her thus to reconsider. He swears that if she does not make herself ready for the wedding on the following Sunday, he shall disinherit her and make her curse the day that she was born. Left alone, Juliette ponders mournfully over her sad predicament. Finally she concludes that it would be better for her to take her life than to be untrue to her husband.

In scene v Friar Lourens is discovered before his cell. He is greatly surprised at the rumor that Juliette is about to enter into a second marriage, and comments on her fickleness. To him enter Juliette and the nurse. Bidding the latter to step aside, Juliette informs the friar that, unless he can find her some escape from the marriage, she intends to kill herself, so that her soul in heaven and her blood on earth may both testify to her unstained constancy. The sleeping-potion is then hit upon, the effect of which is to last forty hours. Exit friar. Juliette decides to feign willingness to marry Paris, and exit.

In scene vi Capellets is sputtering to his servants, as in Shakespeare, about the need of wonderful preparations for the approaching wedding, but at length finds time to dispatch to Count Paris the news of Juliette's fortunate change of mind. The latter almost immediately appears, delighted at this information.

Act V. Juliette is in her bedroom with the nurse. Asked whether Romeo is likely to think his mistress untrue, the nurse replies that Romeo shall be well content, knowing that he can

never again hope to possess his love. Then the nurse is dismissed, and Juliette gives way to her impatience at this hollow conversation. After she has poured the sleeping-potion into a glass, she is overcome by various fears. She sees the ghost of Thibout, and immediately falls back in fright onto her bed. The ghost—for he actually appears on the stage—remonstrates with her for having married his deadly enemy, and promises her that she shall soon rot in the grave with her accursed husband. Juliette now fancies that thousands of spirits are plucking at her. So, calling upon Romeo, as in Shakspere, she drinks the potion and sinks away into her unnatural sleep.

In the next scene the nurse enters to wake Juliette. But, finding her cold, she raises a cry of alarm, which causes the hasty entrance of Capellets and others. A doctor is summoned, and pronounces Juliette's death to be the probable result of melancholy. This diagnosis naturally causes Capellets great remorse; likewise Paris, who now enters and delivers a tender lament for Juliette.

The third scene is very short, being devoted to a conversation between Friar Lourens and Anselmus. The latter receives a letter which he is to deliver to Romeo at Mantua.

At the beginning of scene iv Romeo learns from Pedro that Juliette is dead. Almost out of his senses, he wails his grief to heaven, calling upon the sun, the moon, the stars to disappear and to leave earth in utter darkness, now that his love is dead. He complains of death's injustice, by which the loveliest flower is plucked and the ugliest weed allowed to blossom on. Finally, telling Pedro to make ready for their return to Verona, he departs in search of poison.

In the short fifth scene Anselmus informs the audience that he was so delayed on the way that he has missed Romeo.

Then, in the final scene, we see Romeo in the act of forcing an entrance to Juliette's tomb. Pedro, meanwhile, afraid of seeing spooks, has withdrawn a little way, in hopes of falling asleep and of thereby dispelling his fears. In the tomb Romeo addresses tender words to Juliette, and, after kissing her many times, and after begging forgiveness of Thibout's body, he drinks the poison,

commends his soul to God, and dies. Juliette then awakes, but, finding her lord dead, she stabs herself with his sword. At this point Friar Lourens enters; he wakes up Pedro and from him learns of Romeo's mistake. In utter despair he bids Pedro tell the parents of the lovers what a dreadful misfortune this feud has led to; expresses the wish that peace may now reign between the two families; and resolves herewith to retire to some solitary place, because he feels partially guilty for this tragedy.

So much for the general outline of this old play. Looked at more critically, the play shows several interesting aspects. Perhaps its most striking, distinctive feature is the absence of any great conformity to the Senecan type of tragedy. In the relic of an English tragedy, dating from about 1560, one would naturally expect to find most of the Senecan ear-marks—a continual harping on fate and fortune, periodic moralizing, inflated rhetoric, and needless blood and gore.¹ Now, of course, the breath of fortune is constantly blowing across this play, veering around more and more into a headwind—a thing to be expected in any dramatization of the career of star-crossed lovers. And if this is the case with the Dutch play, so is it also with Shakspere's. In D, Romeo's "O fickle fortune! how easily canst thou change!" is answered in S by Juliet's "O fortune, fortune! all men call thee fickle." On the other hand, as we might expect, the references to fortune are in D more elaborate and less potent; Shakspere, by a terse intensity of words, has succeeded more subtly in keeping this vexing, contrary breath always in our faces. And yet, even in D, the cruder emphasis on fortune does not, as in many early plays, force this element to serve as the entire dramatic atmosphere.

Other Senecan characteristics in D are truly insignificant. Thus there are, I believe, only two cases of moralizing. The first is perpetrated by the friar. After he is approached by Romeo, he mutters, "Blessed are those who shun the world, for by the love of woman man's flesh is perverted from a love of God, and led into much trouble; God's love, only, gives happiness." This

¹Let no one suggest that these Senecan peculiarities may have been sloughed off by the Dutch redactor, for it was eminently on the Dutch stage that Seneca was most pilfered. Certainly in his other plays Struijs found it impossible to dispense with such matters.

harmless bit, however, is thoroughly in character. The other case occurs in the scene in which Thibout and Capellets are discussing the satisfaction given to a father by a son, compared to that afforded by a daughter. Although carried to some length, the conversation is prompted, not by a love of moralizing for moralizing's sake, as in the typical Senecan play—in *Gorboduc*, *Tancred and Gismunda*, etc.—being rather the author's device to bring out dramatic irony; for immediately after the scene the audience beholds Romeo and Juliette in the act of being married. These two cases are quite different from the insistent accumulation of ethical doctrines found in other English tragedies composed in the fifteen sixties, and even later.

In the matter of inflated rhetoric this drama sins also but two or three times. The biggest blot in this respect results from Romeo's ravings upon getting the false information about Juliette. Here he goes out of his head and rants, invoking everything in the universe, including the furniture of heaven and hell.

As for the "horrors," so amply precedented by Seneca, the play shows here, too, more fastidiousness than was usual. There is no needless flaunting of blood. Take, for example, the fatal encounter between the two hostile factions. In Boaistuau it becomes so fierce that arms and legs are severed, and the street runs blood—a spectacle fairly hard to represent on the stage, I admit. Still, here was a good chance for your true lover of Seneca to start his hacking. Yet in D, as in S, when the fight is ended, only Romeo's boon-companion and Thibout are discovered to be dead. Even the ghost of Thibout who appears to Juliette just before she takes the potion, is not a dripping apparition from Acheron, provided with power to sway her destiny, being rather a symbolized embodiment of Juliette's own imaginings. No, assuredly, D is far from being a typical Senecan play; its flavor of romance is left almost unpolluted.

Nor is this exceptional freedom from such fashionable sensationalism to be ascribed to any recondite cause. The reason lies rather, it seems to me, in the sheer dramatic feeling found in the original story. What other pre-Shaksperian romantic tragedy is based upon a story of similar possibilities? Let us glance at a

few notable examples. *Gorboduc* emerged from a congeries of unromantic fable. *Tancred and Gismunda* was damned at the outset in a hideous plot; so, too, the early *Titus Andronicus* plays. Even *The Spanish Tragedy*, excellent as it is, has, mixed up in the fabric of its plot, a deal of curious psychological jugglery. Quite different the story of Romeo and Juliet. Once arrived in western Europe, it served as a choice morsel for such talented men as Luigi da Porto, Bandello, and Boastuau. Owing to repeated remolding at their hands it at length became easily convertible into excellent dramatic form.

But though differing so much from the usual tragedy of about 1560, the play affords almost equal contrast to Shakspere's drama. It is, for example, a thoroughly "bewept" play. Juliette says at one place: "Oh, might I shed so many tears that my heart would break!" In Shakspere, on the contrary, the love of the two is a flame by which their tears are drunk dry; grief leaves the lovers parched and panting, incapable of the relief which tears are wont to offer. Not when they are together on that last night, in the rare, pure atmosphere of their passion, do tears come—love like theirs creates an almost* silencing awe—but only upon descending from this elevated realm to a denser, stupider, and more irritating plane. Then Lady Capulet may well say: "Evermore weeping for your cousin's death?"

Similarly Shakspere has employed an exaggeration for purposes of art which one fails to discover in D. The world in which these Shaksperian lovers live and adore is almost infinitely removed from the sphere of those who would check them. Likewise the world of Juliet's father is made over petty and selfish. With the contrast thus sharpened, the principal scenes in the play seem adequately motivated. Our sympathy is so strongly with Juliet, both because her love exceeds that of any other girl in the world, and because her father becomes so childish in his conduct toward her that even the nurse is justified in reproving him. The older play, on the contrary, tends far more toward realism, or perhaps better *literalness*, and therefore affords no such supreme motives for action. We are certain that Juliette's love is tremendous, though not all-surpassing, because we have seen her much

with her lover, yet always displaying a more terrestrial, a more usual, passion than Shakspere's heroine. Like this latter character, she, too, to be sure, loves tenderly, unsordidly, and even poetically. Awaiting her lover the night before his departure, she soliloquizes thus:

Diana, thou light divine! withdraw but for a little, and cover thy beams with black clouds, that my dear husband may fearless come to me this night. Hinder not by thy bright rays our final meeting, nor pile yet higher our heap of woes.

Then comes a very human touch. Overcome by the terror of the situation, she wishes for the moment that she had never seen Romeo; but instantly her love for him returns with a rush, and she exclaims:

Where can my dear love be? My heart begins to fear that something has happened to him on the way, for grief follows hard upon grief. What do I hear? Oh, if it were only my dearest! 'Tis he! I hear his voice.

Romeo enters by the ladder with the greeting, "O my love!" to which Juliette replies "Oh, might I swoon to death in these arms of thine!" Here, no doubt, is real earthly passion, alternately thrilling and despairing. The delirium of Juliette's "'Tis he!" and of her last remark is not to be denied. But where Shakspere by the use of contrast, heightened by exquisite poetry, has created two imperishable lovers, the other author, in intensifying the original story, has been content to describe more nearly what he saw about him—a pair of pure but mundane lovers, whose most exalted utterances go lowly, by the ground, compared to the raptures of those other two.

Art suffers also for the sake of literalness in the case of one other character in D—Paris. In Shakspere's drama he serves primarily as a dramatic device—as a gentlemanly and unobjectionable cause of Juliet's desperate extremes. A few swift strokes succeed in giving him flesh and blood, owing to the great emotional value of the pitiable situation into which he is forced by the story. In D, on the other hand, he is needlessly elaborated. His frequent monologues bring out insistently what the audience readily ascribes to him in Shakspere—a gentle, concilia-

tory disposition, colored by a stanch friendship for the Capellets; and also partially divert the absorbing interest of the central theme by overemphasis on his passion for Juliette. Credence on the audience's part in the genuineness of his love is, to be sure, clinched by this method. Thus, for example, when Juliette is discovered on the morning of the wedding supposedly dead, and it is believed that her death was occasioned by her aversion to the marriage, Paris' penitence and remorse ring true and tender, because his frequent appearances on the stage have given ample proof of his great love for her. Shakspere, however, chose the much more artistic and dramatic method in postponing any great display of feeling on Paris' part until the end of the tragedy, when, by inserting a new incident into the story, he has him bear flowers by night to Juliet's tomb, and then lay down his life beside her.

In other cases, however, where a literal characterization was in no way prevented by reasons of art, Shakspere has, of course, beaten the older author at his own game. Indeed, we find in *D* only two characters, besides those already mentioned, who are given any color above that which they possessed already in *Boaistuau*. These are Phebidas and Jacomo, who correspond to Mercutio and Benvolio. Although not coming to within hailing distance of Shakspere's character, Phebidas is, to be sure, given a truly heightened personality. He is gay, dashing, fickle in matters of love, and recklessly brave. Like Mercutio, he fights the Capellets conscientiously, until he is killed. Jacomo is done with fewer strokes, though he is brought out with sufficient clearness to serve as a perfect contrast to Phebidas. Other characters, in *D*, as I have just indicated, can scarcely be distinguished from their prototypes in *Boaistuau*.

My remaining study of *D* can perhaps be conveniently blended with an attempt to bring out Shakspere's chief indebtedness to the other play; first for certain general effects, and second for numerous details. At the outset it should be stated that for the management of his central theme Shakspere owes but little; particularly if this be judged by degree and not by amount. For although the real problem in both plays is that imposed essentially

by the story—a study of elemental passion—the success with which this is worked out varies tremendously. Shakspere, by supreme adequacy of imagination, presents a conspicuous development even in this limited, unintellectual sort of love. Particularly noticeable is this in the character of Juliet. At the start it is the superficial thrills of love at first sight; in the orchard scene, the pure lyric of a singing heart; later, where she is pondering expectantly over the marriage-night—the first stirrings of complete womanhood; in her farewell to Romeo—her “faint alarms” have become dark presentiments; and finally, when she drinks the sleeping-potion, there is absolute realization of the power of love. In other words, there grows in Juliet’s heart a gradual deepening, even sophistication, of feeling, though reinforced but by very little conscious thought. In D, as one might expect, such a beautiful progress in pure instinct is not to be found. But there is nevertheless a great superiority in this respect to the achievements of Boaistuau and Brooke. New situations are added, or new suggestions for old situations are roughly sketched. Thus in the orchard scene there is some attempt at lyric utterance; likewise, when Juliette is awaiting Romeo in her chamber, her feeling is shown at least to be extremely intense. Similarly, too, she is possessed by dire presentiments when she says good-by to Romeo. Even in the sleeping-potion scene, where in general there is a close following of Boaistuau, Juliette gives a supreme touch to the force of her love, when her imaginings become too dreadful, by calling upon the name of Romeo, even as in Shakspere, and by drinking the potion to him. Certainly we here observe the central theme of the story sufficiently revised to show that the author of the older play had for his time no little psychological penetration; enough, indeed, to attract the attention of Shakspere, and to stimulate his analytical faculty.

Another element of Shakspere’s artistry may perhaps also be somewhat indebted to the older play—the atmosphere of the tragedy. In any case, it will not be uninstructive to compare the two plays from this point of view. In the story itself, as it is found in Boaistuau, and also in Brooke, there is, to be sure, an inherent inevitability which, on the face of it, makes for tragedy.

But this in D is naturally heightened, first by dint of the dramatic form, and second by conscious devices inserted to this end. Thus the feud between the two families is emphasized by vivid scenes showing the intense feeling of both factions. The day after Romeo's reckless appearance at the house of his enemy, Capellets, Thibout, and Count Paris are discovered discussing this bit of effrontery. The anger of Thibout in particular is not to be restrained; despite the rebukes of his uncle, he solemnly vows to repay this insult. Similarly before the fatal encounter, a scene is furnished to reveal the plot in the making with which Capellets' faction are to be revenged upon their enemies. Then follows, before the actual meeting of the two sides, a swaggering scene in which the Monteschs, some of them half drunk, are defiantly parading the streets. With the emphasis so prominently put upon the discord between these families, no reader of the play can for a moment look forward to a happy, peaceful union of the two lovers. Shakspere, realizing the need of such emphasis, for the purpose particularly of atmosphere, as usual outdid the older play by placing one of these factious scenes at the very beginning of his drama.

But, though given some few hints for certain elements of the atmosphere, Shakspere managed the dominant element *almost* independently. I mean the lyric aroma which exhales from the poetry. It is undoubtedly this which has often made the *Romeo and Juliet* seem essentially a poem rather than a play. At all events, it elevates the love of these two, though, strangely enough, without taking them out of character, into a unique atmosphere, so far above the realm of the usual that one seems here to have the apotheosis of love rather than love itself. That, on the other hand, D wholly lacks poetic buoyancy is not true; for I have already pointed out numerous conceits from which in their original English form Shakspere apparently got potent suggestions. More than this, however, cannot be said. The difference of poetic atmosphere in the two dramas is that of heaven and earth.

As to more specific, more tangible suggestions taken by Shakspere from the older play, a few words may be said by way of summary. From it he got not only hints for frequent, detached conceits; he elaborated consecutive speeches and dramatic devices.

Thus he drew on it for Romeo's impression of Juliet. "O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright!" etc. (I, v, 46 ff.); for much of the orchard scene (II, ii); for Tybalt's anger and Capulet's restraining words (I, v, 56 ff.); for the arrangement and some of the phrasing of the scene in which Romeo first interviews the friar (II, iii); for the special scene at the cell devoted to compassing the marriage (II, vi); for the management of the fatal encounter in which Mercutio and Tybalt are killed (III, i); for the first part of III, ii, where Juliet is impatiently waiting for night and for Romeo; for Romeo's dismal time at the friar's cell (III, iii); for a large portion of the scene in which he says farewell to Juliet (III, v); for the spirited ending of III, v—Juliet's conversation with the nurse; and finally for Romeo's apostrophe to death at Juliet's tomb (V, iii). No inconsiderable indebtedness.

In conclusion, some mention should, I suppose, be made of the bearing of D on the 1591(?) 1597, and 1599 forms of Shakspere's play. Unfortunately, the consideration of this matter yields nothing very illuminating. One may say, to be sure, that those lines and scenes in S which show indebtedness to D were undoubtedly among the earliest features of the play. Yet this inference still leaves the 1591(?) version practically undiscovered. It casts, however, a faint ray of light on the nature of the first two quartos; enough, indeed, to confirm the now prevalent opinion that the First Quarto was surely based on a cut-down, acting copy, in the light of D, to have been previously composed.

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APPENDIX

I

Various attempts have been made to establish borrowing by Shakspere from Luigi Groto's *Hadriana*, a play based chiefly on Da Porto's novel. The resemblance upon which this case really hangs is the part played by the nightingale. In Shakspere (III, v, 1-3) Juliet says:

Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day:
It was the nightingale, and not the lark,
That pierc'd the fearful hollow of thine ear.

The corresponding scene in the Italian play offers an only vaguely similar reference. Latinus, the hero, upon leaving Hadriana observes that the nightingale is singing plaintive notes in sympathy with their woes:

S'io non erro, è presso il far del giorno.
Udite il rossignuol, che con noi desto,
Con noi geme fra i spini!

But that these lines probably exerted no direct influence on Shakspere is brought out by a like allusion to the nightingale in D. Here, standing below Juliette's window on the marriage night, Romeo rhapsodizes as follows (E 2^o):

O blessed night! thou hast more joy in store for me than ever the sun did grant. The moon looks down and shimmers through the air; and with her stars she seems to smile in gladness at my approaching bliss. The nightingale, rejoicing more than is her wont, sings deliriously of my happy lot; and a sweet breeze comes to greet me, to be a sharer of my joys.

To this instance in D the lines in the Italian play bear a closer resemblance than to Shakspere's use of the nightingale. Hence, if there be any need at this point of ascribing indebtedness, one may say that the author of the English original of D got his suggestion for the nightingale from Groto, and in turn passed it on to Shakspere.

II

In the British Museum Library, included in folios 242-49, 251, 252 of the Sloane MSS No. 1775, there is an unpublished fragment of a Romeo and Juliet play in Latin. No descriptive account of this fragment, so far as I know, has ever been given; and it is little wonder, for the handwriting of the author is such an illegible, crossed-out scrawl that one is likely to think more than twice before attempting to decipher it. Mr. Hazlitt mentions the play very briefly:

Mr. Halliwell's "Dictionary of Old Plays," 80, 1860, takes no notice of the Latin play on this favourite story anterior to Shakspere's, and also in all probability to Brooke's novel, of which a fragment is in Sloane MS, 1775. It is not likely, however, to have served Shakspere.²

Mr. Gollancz, too, devotes about four lines to it, in which he says that it is "evidently the exercise of a Cambridge student, but the MS belongs, I think, to the beginning of the seventeenth century."³ Since there seems to be divergence of opinion concerning the fragment, perhaps I may be permitted to describe it at some length.⁴

¹ See J. C. Walker, *Memoir on Italian Tragedy* (London, 1799), pp. 50 ff. I have reviewed Walker's list of resemblances, and find only this point about the nightingale at all striking.

² *Shakespeare's Library*, Vol. I, p. 58.

³ Larger Temple edition (London, 1900), Vol. IX, introduction to *Romeo and Juliet*.

⁴ Through the courtesy and expert ability of Mr. A. Hughes-Hughes, of the British Museum Library, I was able to get a transcript of this play.

Composed in iambic verses of six feet, with choruses, the play narrates, usually with the utmost baldness, the fortunes of the lovers from the time of the banquet to the scene in which Romeo flees to the friar's cell. Although the order of the folios is badly confused—in one case a folio is inverted—the sequence of events is not difficult to determine. In a scene between Philophilus (Mercutio) and Romeus, the setting of which is uncertain, the charms of Juliett are highly extolled, and Romeus is advised by his friend to press the suit. Hereupon the object of their talk enters, and Romeus declares that he should be the happiest of mortals if he could win her love. A gratulatory chorus follows. Puer, also called Servus, discloses to his master Juliett's identity. Romeus is of course horrified.

In the next scene comes Juliett's turn for enlightenment, where she learns of her lover's parentage from Nutrix; she expresses her despair in about forty lines, comparing herself in turn to Dido, Phyllis, and Medea. Then follows the dialogue between Romeus and Juliett in the orchard, at the end of which Romeus volunteers to seek assistance from Sacerdos. A chorus ensues, invoking the gods to aid this mission. After due persuasion by Romeus the priest agrees to marry the lovers, believing that the union may possibly settle amicably the feud between the Montagus and Capilets. Juliett, so as to have a go-between for herself and Romeus, makes the nurse her confidante, who, though horrified at first, at length agrees to help on the marriage. She is at once sent to fetch a message from Romeus. Another scene discloses her in the lover's presence, where, after learning his pleasure, she proceeds to babble of Juliett's youth, until she is cut short and dismissed with a generous tip. Returned home, she keeps Juliett in uncertainty as to the message, while she at some length sings the lover's praises. The chorus expounds the wisdom of a lover's being lavish with his gold, if he wishes to shape fortune to his liking and adds the information that the priest is this day to perform the wedding ceremony.

Then comes dialogue between Servus and Nutrix, in which the rope ladder is arranged for and the hope expressed that nothing may interfere with the joys of the marriage-night. Philophilus congratulates Romeus upon his good fortune, for Juliett is at length his. Romeus enjoins secrecy. Enter Nuntius, announcing that hostilities have been renewed between the two families, and that Tybalt is thirsting for Romeus' blood. Hereupon Romeus is urged to come to the support of the Montagus. The duel follows, and Tybalt dies, declaring that he has deserved his fate. Two of the Capilets call for vengeance on Romeus. The grief of Tybalt's uncle. Two of the Montagus attempt to excuse Romeus; Princeps, however, sentences him to banishment. The chorus bewails the fortune of the young lovers.

Juliett, upon hearing of Tybalt's death, at first upbraids Romeus in her own mind, and then excuses him. Nutrix, desiring to cheer her, volunteers to get word of Romeus from Sacerdos. The final scene of the fragment is laid at the cell, where Romeus first hears of the judgment pronounced upon him. The comforting priest succeeds only partially in holding in restraint Romeus' ravings.

As to the date of this Latin play, Mr. Gollancz is apparently justified in placing it as late as the seventeenth century. At all events, the state of the case is as follows: The many corrections and alternative readings in the fragment seem to indicate that it was written down by the author himself, and not merely copied, subsequent to its composition, by some clerk. Of this, I think, there can be little doubt. Now, it so happens that in certain adjacent fragments, which—to judge from the handwriting—were certainly composed by the same person, there are references to seventeenth-century characters. They occur in two poems which occupy the folios 249–250b. The first poem, which is imperfect at the beginning, ends with these lines:

For there is coming out a booke
Will spoile Joseph Barnesius
I th' sale of *Rex Platonicus*.

And in the second poem, which is entitled "A Cambridge Madrigall Confuting the Oxford ballade that was sung to the tune of Bonny Nell," we find equally significant lines:

And at his speech he snarles
Because he forg'd a word and cal'd
The Prince most Jacobd Charles.

Singularly enough, these two references supplement each other beautifully. For Joseph Barnes, as is well known, was a printer to the University of Oxford, who published from 1585 to 1618. And in the British Museum Library there is a Latin treatise called *Rex Platonicus*, which was written by Sir Isaac Wake; the title-page of the third edition, 1615, reads as follows:

Rex Platonicus; sive, De Potentissimi principis Jacobi Britanniarum Regis, ad illustrissimam Academiam Oxoniensem, adventu, Aug. 27, An. 1605. Narratio ab Isaaco Wake, Publico Academiae ejusdem Oratore, tunc temporis Conscripta, nunc iterum in lucem edita, multis in locis auctior & emendatior. Editio tertia, Oxoniae. Excudebat Josephus Barnesius, Academiae Typographus, 1615.

Here, then, we have a reference to an oration which was delivered August 27, 1605, and published shortly afterward. Of course, it would be hazardous to say that the Latin play was written the same year in which these other two fragments were composed. But it seems pretty certain that it was a student's exercise, and that, therefore, even though

allowance be made for the student's residence at Cambridge, it was written subsequently to Shakspere's play.

The direct source of this Latin play is a matter which can also, I think, be determined with a fair amount of certainty. Apparently Hazlitt had not examined the play when he stated that it possibly antedated Brooke's poem. Let the reader observe the following parallelisms, taken from these two versions of the story:

Sacerdos. Mortis timorem principis sententia
Expulxit omnem; recipe laetitiam, precor:
Concessa vita est, exul at patria tua
Carebis.

Thy hope, quoth he, [Friar to Romeus] is good, daunger of death is none,
But thou shalt live, and doe full well, in spite of spitefull fone.
This onely payne for thee was erst proclaymde aloude,
A banished man, thou mayst thee not within Verona shroude.¹

Romeus. Utinam antequam me mater in lucem edidit
Aluitque, saevae nostra lacerassent ferae
Viscera, sive ulla caede periissem innocens!

The time and place of byrth he fiercely did reprove,
He wished that he had before this time been borne,
Or that as soon as he wan light, his life he had forlorne.²

Then, in the scene in which the nurse visits Romeus to learn the plans which he has made for the marriage, after getting his instructions, she exclaims:

Caput facetum. Prosperum dent exitum
Superi. Quid unquam posset inventum pejus (?)³
Callidius omnis nota fraus amantibus,
Excogitare tale praetextu pio!
Pietatis umbra facile nostis providam
Fallere parentem suspicantem nil minus.
Si muta (?) placeat reliqua committas mihi,
Ut venia detur ipsa commentum dabo:
Quod aureas reliquit incomptas comas,
Lasciva vel quod somniavit somnium,
Vel temore amoribus otium sumpsit suum;
Ad tempa mater facilis accessum dabit
Die statuto. Chara—(?) semper fuit:
O quam juvaret illud aetatis meae
Meminisse tempus, quo mea infans ubera
Tenella suxit: ——(?) audivi brevi
Lallare linguam saepe ventiliquos sonos.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

³ A question mark indicates that the MS reading is either illegible or extremely doubtful; the number of these question marks will perhaps serve as well as anything to show the provoking condition of the MS.

Quoties tenella posteras partes manu
Irata tetigi, et occisum taetis dedi,
Laetata potius (?) quam ore lascivi senis.

Now by my truth (quoth she) God's blessing have your hart,
For yet in all my life I have not heard of such a part.
Lord how you yong men can such crafty wiles devise,
If that you love the daughter well, to blearre the mothers eyes.
An easy thing it is, with cloke of holines,
To mocke the sely mother that suspecteth nothing lesse.
But that it pleased you to tell me of the casse,
For all my many yeres perhaps, I should have found it scarce.
Now for the rest let me and Juliet alone;
To get her leave, some feate excuse I will devise anone;
For that her golden lockes by sloth have been unkempt,
Or for unwares some wanton dreame the youthfull damsell drempyt,
Or for in thoughts of love her ydel time she spent,
Or otherwise within her hart deserved to be shent.
I know her mother will in no case say her nay;
I warrant you she shall not fayle to come on Saterday.
And then she sweares to him, the mother loves her well;
And how she gave her sucke in youth, she leaveth not to tell.
A prety babe (quod she) it was when it was yong;
Lord how it could full pretely have prated with its tong!
A thousand times and more I laid her on my lappe,
And clapt her on the buttocke soft, and kist where I did clappe.
And gladder then was I of such a kisse forsooth,
Than I had been to have a kisse of some old lechers mouth.¹

When the nurse comes back to Juliett we have the following:

Jul. Altrix, profare quid feras, quonam in loco est.
Nutrix. Beata vivas—conjugem talem tibi
 Non ipsa sospes Troja non Priamus daret,
 Virtute clarum, genere nobilem suo:
 Ampulum merentur candidi mores decus.
Jul. Nota haec statutum nuptiis tempus refert (?).
Nutrix. Subitum doloris gaudium causa est novi.
Jul. Omitte nugas: perage mandatum cito.

Good newes for thee, my gyrtle, good tidings I thee bring.
Leave off thy woonted song of care, and now of pleasure sing.
For thou mayst hold thy selfe the happiest under sonne,
That in so little while, so well so worthy a knight hast woone.
The best yshapde is he, and hast the fayrest face,
Of all this town, and there is none hath halfe so good a grace:
So gentle of his speche, and of his counsell wise.

Tell me else what (quod she [Juliet]) this evermore I thought;

¹*Op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103.

But of our mariage say at once, what aunswer have you brought?
Nay soft, quoth she, I feare your hurt by sodain joye;
I list not play quoth Juliet, although thou list to toye.¹

Although the text of the above Latin quotations is doubtful in places, still I think the reader will readily admit that the author has done little more than paraphrase the corresponding lines in Brooke's poem. Certain it is that neither Painter nor Boaistuau gives any hint for such sentiments; and, so far as I have been able to judge, the student also composed his play without betraying any knowledge whatsoever of Skakspere.²

Only as a curiosity, therefore, can this youthful performance still excite the interest of the student of the drama. Nevertheless, I have thought it worth while to discuss at some length the question of its date and provenience, so as to clear away, if possible, the vague doubts as to these matters which have hitherto beset every commentator of *Romeo and Juliet*.

¹*Op. cit.*, p. 104.

²On the margin of folio 251b is written "descriptio Romei p. 172." This reference might perhaps be employed to confirm my statement that the direct source of the play was Brooke's poem. Unfortunately, the first edition of this poem has not been accessible to me; and even that edition might not decide this matter, since the student may have had recourse to Brooke in some collection of poems which is no longer extant.

SOURCES AND ANALOGUES OF "THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF." PART I

INTRODUCTION

Of the numerous poems erroneously attributed to Chaucer, probably the best-known, and certainly one of the best, is *The Flower and the Leaf*.¹ It first appeared in Speght's folio of 1598, and was regularly reprinted with Chaucer's *Works* until 1878. During this period, owing partly, no doubt, to the modernization by Dryden,² the poem was usually regarded as one of Chaucer's most characteristic and charming pieces. Keats wrote a sonnet about it; Scott, Campbell, Irving, Mrs. Browning, were all fond of it; the editors of selections from Chaucer reprinted it; Taine quoted from it to illustrate Chaucer's most notable merits.³ Now, however, the question of Chaucerian authorship must be regarded as settled adversely,⁴ for reasons which need not be repeated here. In this investigation it is taken for granted that

¹ Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Clarendon Press, 1897), pp. 361-79. References will be to this edition.

² *Fables*, 1700.

³ It may be of interest to indicate the vogue of the poem by the following specific references: Warton, *History of English Poetry* (1774-81); see Index in Hazlitt ed. (1871). Godwin, *Life of Chaucer* (2d ed., 1804), Vol. III, pp. 249 ff. Todd, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), pp. 275 ff. Scott, *Rokeby* (1813), Canto VI, xxvi. Keats, *Sonnet Written on a Blank Space at the End of Chaucer's Tale of "The Floure and the Leaf"* (1817). T. Campbell, *Specimens of the British Poets* (1819), Vol. I, pp. 70 ff.; Vol. II, p. 17. Irving, *Sketch Book* (1819), "Rural Life in England." S. W. Singer, "Life of Chaucer," in *The British Poets* (Chiswick, 1822), Vol. I, pp. xvi, xvii, xxi. Hazlitt, *Select Poets of Great Britain* (1825), p. ix; *Farewell to Essay Writing* (1828). Clarke, *The Rimes of Chaucer* (2d ed., 1835), Vol. I, pp. 52 ff. E. B. Browning, *The Book of the Poets* (1842). H. Reed, *Lectures on English Literature* (1855), p. 138. Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859), pp. 95 ff. G. P. Marsh, *Origin and History of the English Language* (1862), p. 414. Taine, *History of English Literature* (1864-65), Book I, chap. iii, 3. Minto, *Characteristics of the English Poets* (1874), p. 15. Ward, *Chaucer*, in "English Men of Letters" series (1879), chaps. i, iii. Engel, *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 74. Bierbaum, *History of the English Language and Literature* (1895), p. 34. Filon, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (2d ed., 1896), p. 54. Palgrave, *Landscape in Poetry* (1897), p. 122. Gosse, *Modern English Literature* (1898), p. 44. Saintsbury, *Short History of English Literature* (1898), pp. 119, 120. There are also nineteenth century modernizations by Lord Thurlow and Powell, and a French translation by Chatelain.

⁴ By ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien* (1870), pp. 156 ff.; Skeat, Introduction to Bell's Chaucer (1878), and *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxii ff.; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer* (1892), Vol. I, pp. 489 ff. As is well known, Tyrwhitt first expressed doubt of Chaucer's authorship (1775), but his suggestion was hardly taken seriously for nearly a century.

the author was an imitator of Chaucer, writing during the first half-century or so after his master's death.¹

The plan of treatment adopted for study of the sources and analogues of the poem is as follows:

1. The central allegory of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.
2. The accessories of the central allegory: the significance of the white and green costumes, and the chaplets of leaves and flowers; the choice of the nightingale and the goldfinch as singers for the Leaf and the Flower respectively; the cult of the daisy, and so forth.
3. The general setting and machinery of the poem; its relations to other vision poems with the springtime setting.
4. Conclusion as to the most influential sources.

SYNOPSIS OF THE POEM

The following summary of the action of *F. L.*² will be useful:

¹ I say *his* because, although the poem purports to be by a woman, there is no adequate reason for assuming that it is by a woman. I hope to show in a later article that Professor Skeat's theory of common authorship of *The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies* is untenable, and that various striking resemblances of the former to the work of Lydgate suggest that he may have been the author.

² In the course of this article abbreviations will be used as follows:

A. G. = *Assembly of Gods*, attributed to Lydgate, E. E. T. S.
A. L. = *Assembly of Ladies*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
A. Y. L. I. = *An You Like It*.
B. D. = Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*.
B. K. = Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*.
C. A. = Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.
C. B. = Lydgate's *Chorl and the Bird*.
C. L. = *The Court of Love*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
C. N. = *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
C. O. = *Debat du Coer et de l'Oeil*.
C. T. = Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.
Chansons = *Chansons du XV^{me} siècle*, Société des Anciens Textes Français.
E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.
F. L. = *The Flower and the Leaf*.
Fablet = *Fablet dou Dieu d'Amours*.
L. G. W. = Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*.
M. M. = *Measure for Measure*.
M. P. = Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ed. Halliwell, Percy Society.
Night. = Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems*, E. E. T. S.
P. F. = Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*.
R. R. = *Roman de la Rose*.
R. S. = Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, E. E. T. S.
S. T. S. = Scottish Text Society.
T. C. = Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.
T. G. = Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S.
Thebes = Lydgate's *Story of Thebes*.
Venus = *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor*.

Very early on a May morning, when the spring growth is at its height, the poet, represented as a woman to whom sleep is "ful unmete," goes forth to a pleasant grove of oaks set out at regular intervals. With joy she hears the birds sing, and listens especially, though at first in vain, for the nightingale. Soon she finds a narrow path, overgrown with grass and weeds, which leads to a pleasant "herber," terraced with fresh grass and surrounded by a hedge of sycamore and sweet-scented eglantine. This hedge is so thick that anyone outside cannot see in, though one inside can see out. Beside the arbor is a beautiful medlar tree, in which a goldfinch leaps from bough to bough, eating buds and blossoms and singing merrily. Opposite this is a laurel tree, which gives out healing odors like the eglantine, and within whose branches a nightingale sings even more ravishingly than the goldfinch. The poet is delighted with the spot, which seems like an earthly paradise, and sits down on the grass to listen to the birds.

Soon she hears voices like those of angels, and in a moment a "world of ladies" come out of a grove near by, singing sweetly and dancing, under the leadership of the most beautiful member of the company. All are brilliantly arrayed in surcoats of white velvet set with precious stones. They are soon followed by a "rout" of men at arms, also clad in white, with decorations of cloth of gold. Both men and women wear chaplets of leaves—laurel, woodbine, hawthorn, *agnus castus*. After the knights have jested with one another, they join the ladies in doing obeisance before the laurel tree. Then come from an adjacent field the adherents of the Flower—knights and ladies hand in hand, clad in green and wearing chaplets of flowers. This company go dancing into a mead, where they kneel before a tuft of blossoms while one of their number sings a "bargaret" in praise of the daisy. Soon, however, the heat of noon withers the flowers and burns the ladies and their knights; a wind blows down the flowers; and hail and rain bedraggle the company. Meanwhile those in white beneath the laurel tree are unharmed by the elements, and, when they perceive the plight of the others, go to their aid and kindly entertain them. Then the nightingale flies from the laurel tree to the lady of the Leaf, Diana, and the gold-

finch from the medlar tree to Flora, the queen of the Flower, both birds singing their loudest.

The two companies ride away together, and the poet, coming forth from her concealment, asks a lady in white for an explanation of what she has seen. The adherents of the Leaf, she is told, are people who have been chaste, brave, and steadfast in love; the adherents of the Flower are people who have loved idleness, and cared for nothing but hunting and hawking and playing in meads. Then, after explaining why the Leaf is to be preferred to the Flower, the lady of the Leaf asks the poet to which she will do service. The poet chooses the Leaf, and the lady hastens after her company.

CHAPTER I. THE CENTRAL ALLEGORY: THE ORDERS OF THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF

Obviously the kernel of the poem is the allegory of the Flower and the Leaf—the strife between two contrasted orders of knights and ladies, with one of which the author becomes allied. Distinct mention of these orders is made by three persons besides our unknown poet—by Chaucer, Deschamps, and Charles d'Orleans.

CHAUCER'S MENTION OF THE ORDERS

It has long been well known that in the Prologue to his *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer refers to the rivalry of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.¹ He has been speaking of his love for the daisy, and asks lovers to help him in his labor of adequately praising it—

Whether ye ben with the leef or with the flour.

He says modestly that he can only be a gleaner among poets, taking what others have left; but he hopes to be forgiven for his lack of originality,

Sin that ye see I do hit in the honour
Of love, and eek in service of the flour,
Whom that I serve as I have wit or might.

¹ Text A, ll. 70-80; B, ll. 72, 189-96. First noted in Urry's edition of 1721, and taken as a direct allusion to *F. L.*, which Chaucer was assumed to have previously composed. See articles by Professor Kittridge, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.; and Professor J. L. Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIX, pp. 593 ff.

The lines in text A corresponding to these are:

Sith hit is seid in forthering and honour
Of hem that either serven leef or flour;

and are immediately followed by an explanation which in text B does not come till l. 188. In the latter text the poet proceeds with praise of the "flour" referred to in l. 82. He tells how he could

Dwellen alwey, the joly month of May, (176)

with nothing to do

But for to loke upon the dayesye,
The emperice and flour of floures alle.

But natheless, ne wene nat that I make
In preyng of the flour agayn the leef,
No more than of the corn agayn the sheef:
For, as to me, nis lever noon ne lother;
I nam with-holden yit with never nother.
Ne I not who serveth leef, ne who the flour;
Wel brouken they hir service or labour;
For this thing is al of another tonne,
Of olde story, er swich thing was begonne.

The last three lines in the corresponding passage in A are also worth quotation, because they are a trifle more specific, especially in the use of the italicized words:

That nis nothing the entent of my labour,
For this *werk* is al of another tunne,
Of olde story, er swich *stryf* was begunne.

"This *werk*" apparently means the poem in hand, and "swich *stryf*" the strife of the Flower and the Leaf.

Since the author of our poem was first of all an imitator of Chaucer, it seems probable that the passage cited above furnished him direct inspiration. It is also entirely proper to conclude from Chaucer's language, especially in connection with that of Deschamps, soon to be quoted, that there was a sentimental strife between orders of the Flower and the Leaf, and that it was of comparatively recent origin when Chaucer wrote his Prologue, about 1385-86.

DESCHAMPS' MENTION OF THE ORDERS

Four short poems by Eustache Deschamps, in which the strife of the Flower and the Leaf is mentioned, were written probably about the same time as Chaucer's Prologue to his *Legend*.¹ Two ballades and a rondeau are in favor of the Flower, and one ballade in favor of the Leaf. It seems desirable to reprint them in full:

I. BALADE AMOUREUSE

(Sur l'ordre de la Fleur)

Qui est a choiz de deux choses avoir,
Eslire doit et choisir la meilleur.
Et si me faut que je prengne, savoir:
De deux arbres ou la fueille ou la flour:
Qu'en la fueille est plaisir pour sa verdour,
Et qui resjoist les cuers des vrays amans,
Et aux oysiaux fait chanter leurz doulz chans,
Et tient toudiz une saison sa place,
Maiz quant au fort sa beaulte est nians,
J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face. 10

Car la fueille n'a pas tant de pouoir,
De bien, de senz, de force et de valour
Comme la flour; et ce puet apparoir
Qu'elle a beaulte, bonté, fresche coulour,
Et rent a tous tresprecieux odour,
Et fait bon fruit que mains sont desirans,
Duquel avoir est uns chascuns engrans.
Maiz la fueille sans flour et fruit trespassse,
Et sans odour devient poudre en tous temps.
J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face. 20

Pour ce qu'elle vault mieulx, a dire voir,
Que la fueille qui n'a nulle dougour,
Et fruit ne fait au matin ny au soir.
La fueille n'est fors que pour faire honnour
Et pour garder celle fleur nuit et jour
De la pluie, du tempest et des vans,
Comme celle qui n'est que sa servans,

¹ See Professor Kittredge's discussion of them in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 3-6; and Professor Lowes' article cited above, p. 124, n. 1. The probable relation of Deschamps' ballades to *F. L.* was first pointed out by Sandras in his *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859), pp. 102, 103. He gave no detailed attention to them, however, and did not mention the rondeau. As Professor Kittredge says, editors of Chaucer have ignored them in relation to *L. G. W.*; and even Professor Skeat does not mention them in connection with his reprint of *F. L.* The poems are grouped together in the complete edition of Deschamps' works published by the Société des Anciens Textes Français, Vol. IV, pp. 257 ff.

Maiz en tous temps a fleur de tous la gracie,
Comme belle, gracieuse et plaisans.
J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face.

30

II. BALADE.

(*Des deux ordres de la Feuille et de la Fleur*)
(*Éloge de la Fleur*)

Pour ce que j'ay oy parler en France
De deux ordres en l'amoureuse loy,
Que dames ont chascune en deffrance,
L'une fueille et l'autre fleur, j'octroy
Mon corps, mon cuer a la fleur; et pourquoy?
Pour ce qu'en tout a pris, loange et grace
Plus que fueille qui en pourre trespassse
Et n'a au mieux fors que verde coulour,
Et la fleur a beauté qui trestout passe.
A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

10

Celle doit on avoir en reverance,
Sy l'y aray; qu'en toutes choses voy
Loer la flour en bonté, en vaillance,
En tous deduis, en manniere, en arroy;
S'on scet rien bon, c'est la flour pour un roy.
En tous estas vient la fleur a plaisance:
De tout dit on, et par grant exellance,
Que cilz ou celle a la fleur sans retour
De quoy que soit, tele est l'acoustumance:
A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

20

Amour la sieut, doulz desir, esperance,
Beauté, bonté, et de tous loer l'oy.
Coulour, odour et fruit de souffisance
Viennent de ly. Maiz mie n'aperçoy
Que la fueille ait nulle vertu en soy,
Ne que douçour, fruit, ne grant plaisir face.
Maiz maintes foys apalit et efface,
Ne rien ne voy en li de grant vigour
Fors de couvrir la fleur dessus sa place:
A droit jugier je me tien la flour.

30

Celle humble flour aray en remembrance
Qui tant noble est, humble et de maintien coy,
Que n'est tresor, pierre, avoir ne finance,
Qui comparer peust a li par ma foy.
Son ordre prain et humblement reçoy,
Qui plus digne est d'esmeraude ou topace:

Guillaume fay La Tremouille, or li place
 Que du porter me face tant d'onour;
 Car ordre n'est qui plus mon cuer solace.
 A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

40

Et qui vouldra avoir la congnoissance
 Du tresdoux nom que par oir congnoy
 Et du pais ou est sa demourance
 Voist en l'ille d'Albyon en recoy,
 En Lancastre le trouvera, ce croy.
 P. H. et E. L. I. P. P. E. trace,
 Assemble tout; ces .viii. lettres compasse,
 S'aras le nom de la fleur de valour,
 Qui a gent corps, beaux yeux et douce face.
 Au droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

50

L'ENVOY

Royne d'amours, de douce contenance,
 Qui tout passez en senz et en honnour,
 Plus qu'a la fueille vous faiz obeissance:
 A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

III. RONDEAU

(Sur Elyon de Nillac)

Tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac,
 Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille,
 Car po est gent qui avoir ne la veille.

On met souvent les fueilles en un sac,
 Ains que la fruit ne que la fleur se queille.
 Tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac,
 Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille.

5

Maiz vous estes le precieux eschac
 Qui ne souffrez que nulz pour vous se deuille.
 A vous me rent, vo pité me recueille;
 Tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac,
 Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille,
 Car po est gent qui avoir ne la vueille.

10

IV. AUTRE BALADE

(Des deux ordres de la Feuille et de la Fleur)
 (Éloge de la Feuille)

Vous qui prisez et loez la fleur tant,
 Voulons par droit la fueille soustenir.
 Car au jour d'ui n'est ne petit ne grant,

S'il a raison, que ne doye tenir
 Que Dieux la fist en tous arbres venir
 Pour resjoyr dames et damoisiaux
 Et pour rendre leur chant aux doulx oysiaux.
 Par sa verdour tuit nous esjoyssons,
 Sans li ne puet li mondes estre biaux.
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

10

Or responde qui veult, en arguant:
 La fleur ne puet fors de la feuille issir,
 Et se la fleur de la fueille descent,
 Sa mere est donc la fueille sans mentir;
 Naistre la fait, puis croistre et espennir,
 Et la norrit en ses tresdoulx rainsiaux
 Virginalment; fueille est riches joyaux,
 Qui ainsi fait la fleur dont nous parlons;
 Sur toutes fleurs est la fueille royaux:
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

20

Et s'il avient qu'il face un po de vent,
 La fleur verrez et sa colour palir,
 En ordure chiet et va au neant,
 Fruit et colour li faut perdre et perir.
 Maiz la fueille ne puet nul temps morir;
 Tousjours se tient forte, ferme et loyaulk,
 Vert en couleur et amoureuse a ciaulk
 Qu'elle reçoit en l'ombre de ses dons,
 En destruisant les chaleurs desloyaux.
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

30

En grans chaleurs voit on prendre souvent
 Fueilles de saulx pour malades garir;
 Es cours royaux, en maint riche couvent,
 Arbres feuillés pour les lieux rafrechir.
 En May voit on chascun de vert vestir;
 On fait dossier es cours des arbrissiaux;
 Fueilles porte qui veult estre nouviaux:
 En cuer d'iver fueilles de lierre avons,
 Maiz fleur n'avez en arbres n'en vessiaux.
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

40

De vostre fruit que la fleur va portant
 Voit on aucun par droit anientir;
 Du mengier sont maint et maintes engrant,
 Maiz petit vault pour le corps maintenir.
 Fleur ne se puet a fueille appartenir;

Dessoubz li vont cerfs, bisches et chevriaux
 Sanglers et dains, conmins et laperiaux,
 Tous les deduis que par le bos querons,
 Fueille en lorier, de houx, jardins, preaux;
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

50

L'ENVOY

Royne sur fleurs en vertu demourant,
 Galoys d'Aunoy, Mornay Pierre ensement
 De Tremoille, li borgnes Porquerons,
 Et d'Araynes Lyonnet vont loant,
 Et Thuireval vostre bien qui est grant;
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

It is obvious that the foregoing poems are of very unequal value, so far as any possible relation with *F. L.*, or any influence upon it, is concerned. The rondeau (III), indeed, may be disregarded altogether. It is merely a personal tribute, couched in language more naturally applied to a woman, but in this case apparently intended for a woman to send to a man, since Hélion de Naillac was councilor and chamberlain of King Charles VI of France.¹ A personal compliment, also, to Philippa of Lancaster, is the chief burden of the second ballade, in favor of the Flower (II); which, however, is of considerably greater value to us than the rondeau, because it specifically declares that the poet has heard of the existence, in French amorous law, of Orders of the Flower and the Leaf. Though here said to be orders of women, they apparently did not exclude men from membership, for in both the second and the third ballades (II and IV) we find the names of men belonging to the orders.

The first and last ballades, then, are of most interest to us, because they present clear-cut arguments in favor, respectively, of the flower and the leaf. In the first the poet says that, though the verdure of the leaf gives pleasure to the hearts of true lovers,² and moves the birds to sing sweetly,³ and though the leaf lasts during a season,⁴ yet, because its beauty is nothing, he prefers the flower; for the beauty and color and odor of the flower, and the

¹ Raynaud, *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, Vol. X, p. 215; Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, p. 5.

² Cf. I, 5-6; II, 8; IV, 8, 27; *F. L.*, 485, 486, 551-54.

³ Cf. I, 7; IV, 7; *F. L.*, 447, 448.

⁴ Cf. I, 8; IV, 25, 26; *F. L.*, 551-56.

fruit that comes from it, make it of much greater value than the leaf, which has none of these good qualities, but is worthless except to protect the flower from rain and wind.¹ Because of the side taken in I and II, the argument is of course directly opposed to that in *F. L.*; yet it is surprising how many of the points made in favor of the leaf are suggested here—its pleasant verdure and enduring quality, its influence on birds and true lovers, and the protection it affords the flower against storms of various kinds. Indeed, there is little else but elaboration of these points in the long ballade in favor of the leaf (IV). The flower, we are told, springs from the leaf and depends upon it for nourishment. If a little wind comes, the flower loses its color and falls without producing fruit; but the leaf never dies. Instead, it always remains green and fresh and "loyal," protecting those in its shadow from the heat, and healing those who have been sick.²

Thus we see that there are found in these ballades of Deschamps nearly all the arguments of our poem based upon the physical characteristics of the flower and the leaf. The attribution of analogous mental and moral characteristics to the members of the respective orders, however, is not even hinted at by Deschamps. Nevertheless, such similarity of thought and expression as we have found, especially between the third stanza of Ballade IV and the accounts of the storm in *F. L.*, can hardly be accounted for except by actual influence of Deschamps on the English poet, or joint indebtedness of both to a common source not now known.

CHARLES D'ORLEANS' MENTION OF THE ORDERS

Some time during his imprisonment in England from 1415 to 1440, Charles d'Orleans wrote the following ballades:³

Poème de la Prison

Ballade LXI

Le premier jour du mois de May,
Trouvé me suis en compagnie
Qui estoit, pour dire le vray,

¹ Cf. I, 24-27; II, 28, 29; IV, 16, 21-30; *F. L.*, 354-78, 551-65. ² Cf. IV, 31, 32; *F. L.*, 407-13.

³ See *Poésies*, ed. d'Héricault (Paris, 1896); Vol. I, pp. 79 ff. So far as I am aware, these poems have not been previously mentioned in print in connection with *F. L.* My attention was called to them by Professor John M. Manly.

De gracieuseté garnie;
 Et, pour oster merencolie,
 Fut ordonné qu'on choisiroit,
 Comme fortune donneroit,
 La fueille plaine de verdure,
 Ou la fleur pour toute l'année;
 Si prins le feuille pour livrée,
 Comme lors fut mon aventure.

10

Tantost après je m'avisay
 Qu'à bon droit l'avoye choisie
 Car, puis que par mort perdu ay
 La fleur, de tous biens enrichie,
 Qui estoit ma Dame, m'amie,
 Et qui de sa grace m'amoit
 Et pour son amy me tenoit,
 Mon cuer d'autre flour n'a pas cure;
 Adone cogneu que me pensée
 Acordoit à ma destinée,
 Comme fut lors mon aventure.

20

Pourcee, le fueille porteray
 Cest an, sans que point je l'oublie;
 Et à mon povoir me tendray
 Entierement de sa partie;
 Je n'ay de nulle flour envie,
 Porte la qui porter la doit,
 Car la fleur, que mon cuer amoit
 Plus que nulle autre créature,
 Est hors de ce monde passée,
 Qui son amour m'avoit donnée,
 Comme lors fut mon aventure.

30

ENVOI

Il n'est fueille, ne fleur qui dure
 Que pour un temps, car esprouvé
 J'ay la chose que j'ay contée
 Comme lors fut mon aventure.

Ballade LXII

Le lendemain du premier jour de May,
 Dedens mon lit ainsi que je dormoye,
 Au point du jour, m'avint que je songay
 Que devant moy une fleur je véoye
 Qui me disoit: Amy, je me souloye
 En toy fier, car piegà mon party

132

Tu tenoies, mais mis l'as en oubly,
 En soustenant la fueille contre moy;
 J'ay merveille que tu veulx faire ainsi
 Riens n'ay meffait, se pense je, vers toy.

10

Tout esbahy alors je me trouvay,
 Si respondy, au mieuxx que je savoye:
 Tresbelle fleur, onques je ne pensay
 Faire chose qui desplaire te doye:
 Se, pour esbat, Aventure m'envoye
 Que je serve le fueille cest an ey,
 Doy je pour tant estre de toy banny?
 Nennil certes, je fais comme je doy
 Et se je tiens le party qu'ay choisy,
 Riens n'ay meffait, ce pense je, vers toy.

20

Car non pour tant, honneur te porteray
 De bon vouloir, quelque part que je soye,
 Tout pour l'amour d'une fleur que j'amay
 Ou temps passé. Dieu doint que je la voye
 En Paradis, après ma mort, en joye;
 Et pource, fleur, chierement je te pry,
 Ne te plains plus, car cause n'as pourquoy,
 Puis que je fais ainsi que tenu suy,
 Riens n'ay meffait, ce pense je, vers toy.

ENVOI

Le verité est telle que je dy,
 J'en fais juge Amour, le puissant Roy;
 Tresdouce fleur, point ne te cry mercy,
 Riens n'ay meffait, se pense je, vers toy.

30

These two poems clearly have no close relation to *F. L.* They may be earlier than it is, but there are no such resemblances of thought and expression as to indicate that our author knew them; or, conversely, that the Duke of Orleans knew the English poem. The most that can be said of them is that they appear to be based upon the same amorous strife, which they connect with the celebration of the first of May by a well-dressed company whose members—"pour oster merencolie"—decide to choose the leaf or the flower as livery for the whole year. This poet chooses the leaf, not because of any such moral superiority as it symbolizes in *F. L.*, nor even because of the greater durability and usefulness which are emphasized in the last ballade

from Deschamps; but because since his lady's death he cares for no flower but her. And he comes to the melancholy conclusion that neither leaf nor flower lasts more than a short time.

DOES GOWER MENTION THE ORDERS?

It seems generally to have been taken for granted that Gower refers to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf in the description, in the eighth book of the *Confessio Amantis*, of Cupid and his "parlement"

Of gentil folk that whilom were
Lovers.¹

This company are crowned with

Garlandes noght of o color,
Some of the lef, some of the flour,
And some of grete Perles were.

It is, of course, probable that the author of *F. L.* knew this passage from *C. A.*; partly because of the resemblances pointed out by Professor Skeat, and partly because a fifteenth-century English writer of the school of Chaucer could hardly have been ignorant of Gower's great English poem. And it must be admitted as quite possible that Gower had the strife of Flower and Leaf in mind. Yet the last line quoted above seems to preclude the idea of a twofold division in Gower's company, and suggests the probability that the reference is merely to the common custom of wearing garlands, generally of leaves and flowers, at the springtime celebrations.² Such a company as that described by Gower is regularly met in Court of Love poems,³ and garlands are part of its regular attire. Professor Skeat zealously attempts to show greater resemblance between Gower and *F. L.* by skipping a number of pages to

The grene lef is overthrowe,

and the following lines,⁴ which he compares with *F. L.*, ll. 358-64,

¹ See Skeat's *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxviii-ix; Gower's *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, Vol. III, p. 546; Kittredge in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, p. 2. Gower's mention of garlands of the flower and the leaf was first noticed by Warton, *History of English Poetry*, sec. 19; ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 31. The passage in Gower is Book VIII, ll. 2457 ff.

² See pp. 153-57 below.

³ See W. A. Neilson's "Origins and Sources of The Court of Love," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VI (1899), chap. iii, *passim*.

⁴ *C. A.*, Book VIII, ll. 2854 ff.

where the overthrow of the followers of the Flower is described. Any such comparison is entirely unjustifiable, however, as the passage in *C. A.* is merely part of a rehearsal of the progress of the seasons, and has no reference whatever to the leaves which the gentlefolks of Cupid's company wore.

COMPARISONS OF FLOWER AND LEAF

One other alleged reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf requires brief mention. It is discussed in an article by Professor C. F. McClumphia,¹ calling attention to Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* as a possible model for *F. L.* Deschamps, says Mr. McClumphia, "attaches a brief comparison of the flower and the leaf," and the author of the English poem, beginning with the same personages, preserves the allegory. This is a singular error; for, though Deschamps indulges in a good deal of compliment to an unnamed feminine flower, who is compared with the daisy, he nowhere even mentions the leaf or hints at the strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The word *feuille* does not occur in the poem, except as applied (in l. 45) to the petals of the flower; and there is not the remotest suggestion of an allegory of the Flower and the Leaf.²

An obscure comparison of the flower and the leaf is found in a short Picard poem of the thirteenth century,³ which it seems desirable to quote in full:

L'HONNEUR ET L'AMOUR

Qui de .II. biens le millour⁴
 Laist, encontre sa pensée,
 Et prent pour li le piour
 Bien croi que c'est esp[ro]vée
 Très-haute folour.
 Cause ai d'avoir mon penser
 A ce que serve ai esté
 Ai et sui de vrai ami

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV (1889), cols. 402 ff.

² Deschamps' poem is of some importance, however, in relation to the general setting and machinery of *F. L.*, and will therefore be considered further in chap. iii of this investigation.

³ See "Fragment d'une Anthologie Picarde," ed. A. Boucherie, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, Vol. III (1872), pp. 311 ff. The poem cited is on pp. 321, 322.

⁴ Cf. Deschamps' Ballade I, p. 126 above.

Sage, courtois, bien secrē,
G[ou]vrenē par meuretē,
Et gentil, preu et hardi,
Et qui sur tous a m'amour.
Dont sui souvent eno[rée]
D'autrui amer, sans secour.
Mais pour mon mieuls sui donnēe,
S'en ferai demour.

10

Lasse! il m'est trop mal tourné
A dolour et à grietē,
Quant je ai si mal parti
Qu'il me faut cont[re] mon grē,
Par droite nécessitē,
De corps eslongier cheli
A qui m'otroi sans folour,
Et sans estre a voée [supply lui?] 20
De coer; mais c'est vains labours,
Car tant ne doit estre amée
Foelle con la flours.

20

Or m'ont amours assené;
Mais, si c'à leur volentē,
Est mieuls qu'il n'affier à mi.
Tous jours doi av[oir] fondé
Mon desir sur loiaulté,
En espoir d'amour garni.
Car tout passe de valour,
Chus dont s[ui en] amourée,
D'un si gratieux retour.
Sage doi estre avisée,
Se j'ai chier m'onnour.

30

M. Boucherie's comment on this poem is as follows (p. 313):

Dans *l'Honneur et l'Amour*, vrai bijou de versification, la femme aimée se résigne, non sans lutte, à tenir "éloigné de son corps" celui qu'elle préfère. Sans doute l'effort est pénible, mais elle doit mettre l'honneur au-dessus de l'amour, "car," dit-elle avec un rare bonheur d'expression,

"Car tant ne doit estre amée
Foelle con la flours."

This implied connection of the leaf with love, the flower with honor, is rather puzzling,¹ and I have not found anything like it

¹Another possible interpretation seems to be that this mistress, plain in comparison with another, cannot expect to be loved like the other, the flower.

elsewhere. Whatever the precise origin and meaning of the comparison, however, there does not appear to be reference to any such thing as the later strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The poem is of interest only because of this early setting-off of the one against the other.

In a great many other cases there is mention of flowers and leaves together,¹ but they are merely part of the natural background, and the juxtaposition seems without significance. The only example worth quoting is from Lydgate's *Reson and Sensallyte*,² ll. 3900-2, about the trees in the garden of Deduit, which nature sustains:

Ay tendre, fresh, and grene,
Ageyn thassaut of al[le] shours
Both of levys and of flours.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF

Reference to the characteristics of the flower and the leaf that are emphasized in our poem—the perishable nature of the one and the comparative permanence of the other—is frequently found.

Thus in a chanson of Gonthier de Soignies, of the thirteenth century, we are told that

Pucele est con flors de rose,
Qui tost vient et tost trespassse.³

In Jean de Condé's *Dis de l'Entendement*:

etirs del monde et richesce

Ressamble la flour qui tost sesce
Et poi en sa biauté demeure,
Qu'ele chiet et faut en une heure.⁴

¹ As, for example, in Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Nos. lxxiii-iv, ciii, ccii, cxxi, cxxviii, cclxxxiii, ccxcv, dxxiv, dlxiv, dxe, etc. The list might be greatly prolonged, if necessary, from nearly all kinds of mediæval poetry in various languages.

² Ed. Sieper, E. E. T. S. (1901-3).

³ *Trouvères Belges* (Nouvelle Série), ed. A. Scheler (Louvain, 1879), p. 29, ll. 43, 44.

⁴ *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son Fils Jean de Condé*, ed. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1866-67), Vol. III, p. 92, ll. 1417 ff.

Lydgate several times comments on the transitoriness of the flower in a way that strikingly suggests *F. L.* Thus in *Beware of Doubleness*¹ he declares ironically that because

these fresshe somer-floures
Whyte and rede, blewe and grene,
Ben sodainly, with winter-shoures,
Mad feinte and fade, withoute wene,

therefore there is no trust or steadfastness in anything but women. Another ballade of Lydgate's has the refrain:

All stant on chaunge like a mydsomer rose;²
in still another he describes how "Alcestis flour" "in stormys
dreepithe;"³ and in *R. S.* beauty is compared to a rose that fades
with a storm.⁴ In Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*⁵ is the line:

Nocht is your fairnes bot ane faiding flour.

Other references could be made, were an exhaustive list necessary.

On the other hand, the enduring quality of certain kinds of leaves, including the laurel, the oak, and the hawthorn, is made prominent in Chaucer's *P. F.*, ll. 173 ff., and in Lydgate's *T. G.*,⁶ ll. 503-16. In the latter passage a beautiful lady is advised to be "unchanging like these leaves [hawthorn], which no storm can kill."

It should also be noted that in *R. R.*, buds are preferred to blown roses because of their greater durability⁷—a reason sufficiently similar to that for the preference of leaf over flower to be of interest.

THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF AS SYMBOLS

The use of the flower and the leaf as symbols is paralleled in a rather interesting way in Christine de Pisan's *Dit de la Rose*,⁸ which tells of the formation of the "Ordre de la Rose" for the purpose of guarding "la bonne renommée . . . de dames en toute chose." This poem is, as the editor says,⁹ "en quelque

¹ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 291 ff.

² *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, *Percy Society*, Vol. II (1840), pp. 22 ff.

³ *M. P.*, p. 161.

⁴ ll. 6210-16.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 327 ff., l. 461.

⁶ Ed. Schick, *E. E. T. S.*, 1891.

⁷ ll. 1653 ff., Vol. I, p. 54, Michel ed.

⁸ *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*), Vol. II, pp. 29 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. x.

sort le couronnement de la polémique de Christine contre l'œuvre de Jean de Meun" in satire of woman. The order is formed at the suggestion of the "dame et deesse de Loyauté" (ll. 90, 91), who comes directly from the God of Love. The symbolism of the flower is more like that of the leaf in our poem, for the poet is the friend of Diana (l. 279). The rose is evidently chosen because of the controversy relating to *R. R.*, and there is no reference to any symbolism previously attached to that or any other flower.

Mention should also be made, in this connection, of the well-known *Jeux Floraux* of Toulouse, established in 1324 by seven Provençal troubadours, for the purpose of fostering the "gay science" of poetry. Though it is possible that the author of *F. L.* had never even heard of this southern organization, the name, the floral emblems given to winners of prizes, and the date each year on which the *jeux* occurred—May 3—are all of interest as evidence of the way in which flowers were used as symbols in connection with observances of the springtime.

THE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALLEGORY

The contrast between the adherents of the Leaf and of the Flower in our poem is not quite clear-cut. Too many different sorts of people are included in the company of the Leaf, and the characterization of the company of the Flower is too general. Yet the dominant ideas—serious achievement and steadfastness on the one hand, idleness and frivolity on the other—are plain enough, and are expressed elsewhere in ways of some interest to us.

Thus it is of value to examine somewhat in detail the plan and purpose of *Le livre des cent-ballades*.¹ A young man, riding between Pont-de-Cé and Angers, meets an old man, who, suspecting the young man of being a lover, asks him whether he intends always to be loyal in love and brave in war, and to observe the rules of French chivalry. The young man promises, and pursues his journey till he meets a company of young knights and ladies disporting in a meadow watered by the Loire. He avoids the crowd and proceeds to the river-bank to watch the fish; but

¹ Ed. de Queux de Saint Hilaire (Paris, 1868).

is perceived by one of the youngest and merriest ladies of the company, who seeks him out and unasked gives "conseils d'amour léger, d'amour volage, bien différents des austères et vigoureuses leçons qui vient de lui donner le vieux chevalier."¹ The young man says he prefers to be loyal, and, in answer to the lady's question where he received such advice, tells her of the old man whom he had met. She proposes then that they submit to certain chevaliers renowned both in love and war the question:

Qui plus grant
Joie donne & plus entière,
Loiauté, ou faux semblant
En amant.

He prefers to make the issue squarely as to the relative value or success in love of loyalty or falsity; but she demands that they ask of the judges only if they think—

Qu'estre secret & plaisant,
Pourchagant
En mains lieux joie plénière,
Ne soit fait de vray amant.

The terms are finally agreed upon, and the question is submitted, with the result that nine out of twelve answers received, purporting to come from some of the most famous men of the time (not far from 1390), favor loyalty.

There is, to be sure, in the foregoing no mention of regular orders, with symbolic attire and decorations, and the strife is more specific and narrower in range than that of *F. L.*; but the resemblance is noteworthy nevertheless. As Professor Neilson says: "In this book we have very clearly opposed two different ideals of love,"² the old ideal of Ovid and his imitators, and a newer and nobler ideal not so frequently expressed. Such a contrast is suggested, however, in the nightingale's complaint of the degeneracy of love in *Fablel* and *Venus*,³ and was definitely made long before the latter part of the fourteenth century; for instance, in a Provençal poem mentioned by Professor Rajna,⁴ in which we find "l'Amor Fino o Verace, antagonista dell' Amor Falso."

¹ Editor's Introduction, p. viii.

³ P. 162 below.

² *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, p. 198.

⁴ *Le corti d'amore* (Milano, 1890), p. 23.

The conflict in *F. L.*, however, is not primarily or chiefly a love conflict. In some ways it more closely resembles that between Reason and Sensuality in Lydgate's amplification of *Les Echecs Amoureux*,¹ chiefly because Sensuality causes men to be

Ful of plesaunce and fals delyte (801)
And of fleschly appetyte.

Still more interesting, in the same poem, is the rivalry of Diana and Venus. The poet meets the former in her evergreen forest of chastity. She is clad in white, ornamented with pearls, and wears a golden crown. She bewails the change from the days when she was more highly regarded than Venus, and love was pure and faithful. She particularly detests "Ydelnesse," the porter of the garden of Deduit, Venus' son; and warns the poet at great length against the idle pleasures of this garden. In almost every way² the subjects of Venus and Cupid in the garden of Deduit resemble the frivolous company of the Flower. And though Diana has no company here, she bewails the loss of followers who either in chastity or steadfastness were like some of the groups in the company of the Leaf. Practically the only inconsistency is that Diana, as in classical mythology, spends her time hunting (to avoid idleness, she says, l. 3000); whereas in *F. L.* excessive love of hunting is one of the things condemned. The pleasures of the garden of Deduit, to be sure, do not differ materially from pleasures described in *R. R.* and other poems of its class; but there is nowhere else, so far as I have discovered, so important a contrast of the two ways of life contrasted in *F. L.*

ORDERS IN THE AMOROUS LAW

The fact that this conflict between two ways of life is attached, in *F. L.*, to orders mentioned by Deschamps as of the "amorous law," requires little comment. The origin and characteristics of this law have received such detailed treatment that repetition is unnecessary.³ Suffice it to say that during the Middle Ages there

¹ *R. S.*, ed. Sieper.

² See more detailed analysis in chap. iii below.

³ See especially P. Rajna, *Le corti d'amore* (Milano, 1890); E. Trojel, *Andreae Capellani Regii Francorum de Amore* (Copenhagen, 1892); J. F. Rowbotham, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love* (London, 1895); L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1896); W. A. Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI; and various references given in the books just named.

did grow up—whether in actual practice or poetic fancy—an elaborate system of courtly love, formulated and celebrated in a long series of poems, with which ours is connected, not only by “the landscape, the costuming, and the rôle of the queens,”¹ but also by the fact that the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf were orders in the amorous law.² Mention has already been made of a slightly similar order of which a flower is used as the symbol.³ This “Ordre de la Rose” may have been only a poetical fancy; but in 1399 an “Ordre de la Dame Blanche à l’Escu Verd” was actually formed,⁴ and there is interesting record of a “Cour Amoureuse” of 1400.⁵

It is conceivable that the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf did not actually exist, since literary influence may account for all definite mention we have of them. Chaucer and Deschamps knew some, at least, of each other’s writings,⁶ and Charles d’Orleans and the author of *F. L.* in all probability knew both Chaucer and Deschamps. Yet the manner in which all the writers speak of the contrasted orders is hard to reconcile with anything but their actual existence in connection with the observance of May Day. Chaucer’s reference, as already pointed out,⁷ seems to imply that the orders were not very old when he was writing the Prologue to *L. G. W.* (about 1385–86). Deschamps, too, writing about the same time, says, “I have heard of two orders,” etc.;⁸ as if the information had recently come to him. Charles d’Orleans’ *Poème de la prison* cannot be later than 1440, and his reference to the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf is probably due to the recollection of May Day festivities in France before he was imprisoned in 1415. *F. L.* can hardly be dated later than 1450, and the various facts to be observed as to its apparent relations with early poems of Lydgate⁹ incline me to favor a somewhat early date. Thus it seems probable that Orders of the Flower and the Leaf existed as a part of the observance of May Day, according to the “amorous law,” in portions of both France and England, some

¹ Neilson, p. 150.

² Deschamps’ Ballade II, p. 127 above.

³ P. 138 above.

⁴ To be discussed below, p. 153.

⁵ See A. Piaget, in *Romania*, Vol. XX, pp. 417 ff.; Vol. XXXI, pp. 597 ff.

⁶ See the articles of Kittredge and Lowes previously cited, p. 124 above.

⁷ P. 125 above.

⁸ Ballade II, p. 127 above.

⁹ See especially chap. iii below.

time during the period beginning not long before 1385 and ending before the middle of the following century. It is hardly probable that the orders were very important, however, or there would have been more frequent mention of them than we find.

CHAPTER II. THE ACCESSORIES OF THE ALLEGORY

A number of the details of *F. L.*, as to costumes, chaplets, birds, trees, and so forth, are clearly symbolic in relation to the central allegory.

THE COSTUMES—WHITE AND GREEN

The costumes are, we have noted, white and green—white for the adherents of the Leaf, green for the adherents of the Flower. At first this reversal of an apparently natural choice may seem strange, for the daisy—the flower here worshiped—is white, and the leaf is green; but when we remember that white is proverbially (and most naturally) the color of purity, the white attire of the chaste followers of the Leaf is at once seen to be appropriate.

The use of white as symbolic of purity is so common as scarcely to need comment: Thus Beatrice, when Dante sees her at the age of eighteen, is attired in white, "the hue of Faith and Purity."¹ Deschamps mentions the traditional interpretation of the color in his *Lay de Franchise*, l. 36, and his *Éloge d'une dame du nom de Marguerite*.² Christine de Pisan, in her *Dit de la Rose*,³ and Lydgate, in *R. S.*,⁴ represent Diana as clothed in white—Diana the goddess of purity and leader of the company of the Leaf. Especially interesting in this connection is another poem by Lydgate—*Pur le Roy*,⁵ an account of the entry of Henry VI into London in 1432, after his coronation in France.

The citezens eche one of the citee,
In her entent that thei were pure and clene,
Chees hem of white a full fayre lyveré,
In every craft as it whas welle sene;

¹ Gardner, *Dante Primer* (1900), p. 46.

² *Oeuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff.; Vol. III, pp. 379, 380, l. 7.

³ *Oeuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 29 ff., ll. 279-81.

⁴ ll. 2816, 2822-24.

⁵ *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 1 ff. The same event is described in the *Chronicles*; see especially Gregory's, ed. Gairdner, *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Society, 1876), pp. 173 ff.

To shew the trouthe that they did mene
 Toward the Kyng, had made hem feithfully,
 In sondery devise embroudered richely.¹

On the bridge a tower was erected, from which issued three ladies representing Nature, Grace, and Fortune. On each side of these ladies were seven maidens—

Alle clad in white, in tokyn of clennes,
 Lyke pure virginis as in ther ententis.²

But purity is not the only meaning attached by mediæval poets to white. The appropriateness of the color for the Nine Worthies, the *Douze Pairs*, the Knights of the Round Table and of the Garter,³ is indicated in the following lines from Watriquet de Couvin's *Dis des .VIII. Couleurs*:

Cils autres cuers de coragour, (206)
 Cils visages simples dehors,
 Qui n'espargne force ne cors
 A biaus fais d'armes commencier,
 Cils qui onques ne volt tencier
 A honour, ainz le quiert touz diz
 Simples est et douz et hardiz:
 Il portera par sa samblance
 L'argentée couleur très blance,
 Qui nous moustre en humilité
 Hardye debonnaireté,
 Aspreté, travail à suour,
 Et criera par grant vigour
 .I. cri courtois et deduisant:
 "Clarté, clarté, du roy luisant!"⁴

A third symbolic meaning is given to white by Guillaume de Machaut, in his *Rémède de Fortune*,⁵ where we are told that the color signifies joy. A woman in white called Joye-sanz-fin appears in a poem attributed to Deschamps,⁶ who was, it will be remembered, a pupil of Machaut. Connected perhaps with this

¹ I emend Halliwell's bad punctuation.

² It seems worthy of note, by the way, that these virgins sang "Most aungelyk with heavenly armony" (p. 10). Cf. *F. L.*, 131-33.

³ *F. L.*, 504, 515, 516, 519.

⁴ *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin*, ed. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868), pp. 311 ff.

⁵ *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé (Paris, 1849), pp. 83 ff.

⁶ *Œuvres de Deschamps*, ed. Raynaud, Vol. X, p. lxxxii.

interpretation are two references in Gaston Paris' collection of *Chansons du XV^{me} siècle*.¹ In chanson XLII the poet says he is too sad to sing—

Quant le Vaudevire est jus
 Qui souloit estre jouyeulx,
 Et blanche livrée porter,
 Chascun ung blanc chapperon,²
 Tout par bonne intencion
 Noblement sans mal penser.

Somewhat similarly, in chanson LVI, Olivier Bachelin is addressed in the following terms:

Vous soulliés gaiment chanter
 Et demener jouyeuse vie,
 Et la blanche livrée porter
 Par la pais de Normandie.

This "blanche livrée" was apparently the sign of some organization, but the editor of the *Chansons* gives no definite information about it. As Bachelin was the fifteenth-century Norman poet who wrote convivial songs called by the name of the valley (Vaudevire) where he lived, it seems hardly likely that the wearing of white livery in his time and by his merry companions has any relation to the wearing of white by the followers of the Leaf, in spite of the fact that ll. 11 and 12 of chanson XLII may reasonably be taken to imply either purity or steadfastness, or both. These chansons were probably later than *F. L.*, however, so that they interfere in no way with the conclusion that the use of white in our poem was entirely in accord with traditions prevalent at the time it was written.

There is abundant evidence that white was associated with the amorous law and its festivities. Thus in G. Villani's *Cronica*³ there is mention of the appearance—in Florence, June, 1283—of "una compagnia . . . di mille uomini o più, tutti vestiti di robe

¹ Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1875.

² In this connection may be mentioned Froissart's account of the "blans chaperons" of Ghent, 1379 (*Chroniques*, chaps. ccxlviii ff.; Berners' translation). I see no reason for suspecting any relation between these two kinds of "white hats," but they indicate how much was made of details of livery or uniform, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

³ Libro VII, cap. lxxxix; *Biblioteca classica italiana*, Secolo XIV, No. 21 (Trieste, 1857), Vol. I, p. 148.

bianche con uno signore detto dell' Amore." Similarly, in May, 1290, "more than a thousand persons, dressed in white, paraded the streets [of Florence again], guided by the 'Lord of Love.'"¹ In Jean de Condé's *Messe des Oisians*² white-clad canonesses present a love suit before Venus; and in Gower's *C. A.*³ a company of servants of love ride white horses and are clad in white and blue (the latter the regular color of constancy). In a popular chanson⁴ "la belle au jardin d'amour" is in white. Moreover, in a number of other cases, to be mentioned hereafter,⁵ white is associated with green in connection with love observances of various kinds.

These love observances took place most commonly during the month of May, in connection with more general celebrations of the return of spring, with which also white was sometimes associated, though, as will be seen shortly, far less frequently than green. One of Gower's French ballades,⁶ for instance, contains mention of the "blanche banere" of May. There is record of the custom, in Provence, on the first of May, of choosing "de jolies petites filles qu'on habille de blanc On l'appelle le mayo."⁷ Mannhardt⁸ also mentions the wearing of white costumes at May Day celebrations in various parts of Europe. The specific examples he gives are doubtless of a time much later than *F. L.*, but such customs are generally traditional and may be of very great antiquity.

As to the fundamental interpretation of green there is direct conflict: it means constancy and it means inconstancy. Deschamps, in his *Lay de Franchise* and in two ballades, "L'Ascension est la fête des dames" and "Éloge d'une dame du nom de Marguerite,"⁹ says green is the color of "fermeté" or of "seurté." In two of these cases, however, he is complimenting a woman represented as a daisy, and naturally has to give a complimentary meaning to

¹ Gardner, *Dante Primer*, p. 13.

² *Dits et contes*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

³ Book IV, ll. 1305 ff. See further discussion of the story of Rosiphele, p. 166 below.

⁴ *Romania*, Vol. VII, p. 61.

⁵ Pp. 152, 153 below.

⁶ *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, Vol. I, p. 367, ballade xxxvii.

⁷ DeNore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France* (Paris, 1846); quoted in deGubernatis, *La mythologie des plantes* (Paris, 1878-82), Vol. I, p. 227. See also Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 579.

⁸ *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (Berlin, 1875), p. 344.

⁹ *Oeuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff., l. 35; Vol. III, pp. 307, 379.

the green stalk. In another ballade he writes more conventionally of blue as the color of "loyauté."¹ Yet there is evidence that his idea was not exceptional. For example, in a Middle English version of *Le Chasteau d'Amour* are the following lines:

The grene colour bi the ground that wil so wele laste (403)
Is the treuthe of oure ladye that ay was stedefast;²

in the *Castle of Perseverance* Truth is represented as wearing a "sad-coloured green;"³ and in Lydgate's *Edmund and Fremund*⁴ we find the lines:

The watty greene shewed in the Reynbowe
Off chastite disclosed his clennesse.

Moreover, Chaucer has Alceste, the type of faithfulness, "clad in real habit grene,"⁵ and even Diana's statue in the *Knight's Tale*⁶ clothed "in gaude greene"—doubtless because she was a huntress.

The foregoing interpretation, however, is exceptional, and in most cases can be accounted for, as intimated, by special reasons governing each particular poem. By far the commoner meaning of green was inconstancy. For example, Machaut has a ballade with the refrain:

Au lieu de bleu se vestir de vert;⁷

and in his *Rémede de Fortune*,⁸ "vers" is said to signify "nouvelleté." Chaucer makes similar use of the color in the *Squire's Tale*,⁹ and Lydgate in the following lines of the *Falls of Princes*:

Watchet-blew of feyned stedfastnes, . . .
Meint with light grene, for change and doublenes.¹⁰

¹ *Oeuvres*, Vol. X, p. lix.

² Robert Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour* (*Castel of Love*), ed. Hupe; *Anglia*, Vol. XIV, pp. 415 ff.

³ See Schick's note on l. 299 of Lydgate's *T. G.*

⁴ In Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1891), pp. 376 ff.; part III, ll. 115, 116.

⁵ *L. G. W.*, Prologue B, l. 214. Alceste, it should be remembered, is a personification of the daisy, and the green habit represents the green stalk of the flower. Similarly in the *Second Nun's Prologue* (*C. T.*, G, 90), "green of conscience" is to be explained by the comparison with a lily.

⁶ *C. T.*, A, l. 2079.

⁷ *Oeuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 55, 56. This poem is the original of Chaucer's *Ballade of Neue-Fangenesse*, with its refrain,

In stede of blew, thus may ye were al grene. (Oxford Chaucer, Vol. I, p. 409.)

⁸ Tarbé, p. 84.

⁹ *C. T.*, F, ll. 646, 647.

¹⁰ Quoted by Professor Skeat in his note on Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*, l. 330 (Oxford Chaucer, Vol. I, p. 538); and by Professor Schick in the note referred to above, n. 3.

In *A. G.*,¹ too, Fortune's gown

was of gawdy grene chamelet
 Chaungeable of sondry dyuerse coloures
 To the condycyon accordyng of hyr shoures.

The use of green as an unlucky color in some of the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*² is in harmony with the foregoing interpretation. The following lines, quoted by Child from William Black's *Three Feathers*, are of interest:

Oh green's forsaken,³
 And yellow's forsown,
 And blue's the sweetest
 Color that's worn.

A third meaning of green—not inconsistent with inconstancy, however—is given in the following passage from *Watriquet de Couvin's Dit des .VIII. Couleurs*:⁴

Car couleurs verde senefie (227)
 Maniere cointe et envoisie:
 Affaitiez, cortois et mignos
 Et chantans comme uns roussignos,
 Ne ne doit fais d'armes douter,
 Que qu'il li doie au cors couster,
 Mais qu'il puist sa force emploier
 Par joustier et par tournoier,
 Et criera ce joli cri:
 "Verdure au riche roy joli!"

A similar interpretation is contained in the following lines from Barclay:

Mine habite blacke accordeth not with grene,
 Blacke betokeneth death as it is dayly sene;
 The grene is pleasour, freshe lust and iolite;
 These two in nature hath great diuersitie.⁵

¹ Ed. Triggs (E. E. T. S., 1895), II. 320-22.

² Ed. Child, Vol. II, pp. 181 ff., 512. It should be added, however, that in the great majority of cases in which green is mentioned in the ballads, no ill luck is implied. Green garments are very common—more common than any other kind. Some special uses of them will be mentioned below, pp. 149-52. In numerous other instances not mentioned, the color seems to be used simply because it is bright and pretty.

³ It may be mentioned that in Elizabethan times to "give a woman a green gown" implied loss of chastity. See the *New English Dictionary*, under "Green."

⁴ Already referred to, p. 144 above, n. 4.

⁵ Prologue to *Egloges*, Spenser Society (1885), p. 2.

This passage is, of course, considerably later than *F. L.*; but a parallel contrast between black and green is implied by Lydgate's representation of himself, on a pilgrimage, as

In a cope of blacke, and not of grene.¹

In the ballads there is frequent mention of the "gay green,"² and the association of the color with the festivities of spring³ is in harmony with this interpretation.

Another use of green is as the color of hope,⁴ in *L'Amant Rendu Cordelier à l'Observance d'Amours*⁵—a meaning also given (along with others) in a passage quoted by Schick from Kindermann's *Teutscher Wolredner*.⁶ A similar idea seems to be at the bottom of the following lines from *La Panthère d'Amours*, by Nicole de Margival:⁷

Amans donques, qui l'esperance
De l'esmeraude et la puissance
Veult avoir, il doit estre vers, (1310)
C'est a dire qu'il ait devers
Ceulz qui bien aimment bon corage,
Et si doit metre son usage
En ceulz ensuivir et congnoistre
Qui se peinent d'amors acroistre;
Car les vers choses tousjors croissent,
Et les seches tousjors descroissent;
Et cil qui en verdeur se tiennent
A grace si tres grant en viennent (1320)
Que des bons, des biaus et des gens
Sont loé, et de toutes gens.

Such are the somewhat confusing interpretations of green that I have found—constancy, inconstancy, pleasure, hope.⁸ In a far

¹ Prologue to *Thebes*; text consulted, Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 571.

² See Child, ballads 64 A, stanza 19; 125, stanzas 23, 35; 182, stanzas 3, 4, etc.

³ See pp. 150-53 below.

⁴ White also appears as the color of hope in various Dutch poems. See Seelmann's "Farbentracht," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, Vol. XXVIII (1902), pp. 118 ff.

⁵ Attributed to Martial d'Auvergne; ed. Montaignon, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1881. See note on p. 111 of this edition. The poem is also found in *Les Arrêts d'Amours*, ed. Lenglet-Dufresnay (Amsterdam, 1731).

⁶ In the note already referred to, p. 147 above, n. 3.

⁷ Ed. Todd, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1883.

⁸ Professor Brandl (in Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 663) mentions yst another meaning, in *Gawain and the Green Knight*—"die grüne Farbe des Friedens." This poem, however, seems to have no possible relation to *F. L.*

greater number of cases no specific meaning is given, but the color is associated with the light and frivolous pleasures of springtime and courtly love.¹ In astrology green was the color of Venus, and Venus was generally connected, as in the Tannhäuser legend, with the baser sort of love. Naturally, also, green costumes were worn at the festivities of May Day, in celebration of the renewal of nature's green. The following list will indicate how thoroughly in accord with tradition were the green costumes of the company of the Flower:

In *R. R.*, Oiseuse ("Ydelnesse"), who conducts the lover to the garden of Deduit, wears a dress of green; see l. 573 of the English version attributed to Chaucer.

The passage from *La Panthère d'Amours*, quoted on p. 149 above, associates the emerald and green with love.

A company of famous lovers in Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour* (see chap. iii below) are all clad in green.

In Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* (ref. p. 143 above) a party of young men cutting foliage in observance of May are likewise "vestus de vert." See also ballade IV, p. 129 above, l. 35.

A ballade of Christine de Pisan (*Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 217), calling on lovers to rise and be joyful on May Day, contains the following lines:

Vestir de vert pour joye parfurnir,
A feste aler se dame le mandoit.

A lean chevalier, reciting the pains and troubles of lovers in Alain Chartier's *Debat des deux Fortunes d'Amours* (*Œuvres*, ed. DuChesne [Paris, 1617], p. 570), says that they often wear "cueur noirey . . . soubz robbe verte."

In the note already mentioned, on p. 111 of *L'Amant Rendu Cordelier à l'Observance d'Amours*, the following lines from Charles d'Orléans and Bertrand des Marins are quoted:

Le verd je ne veux plus porter, [Charles d'Orléans]
Que est livrée aux amoureux.

La couleur verte est demonstrant [Bertrand des Marins
Des femmes la plaisante face, de Masan in *Rousier*
Leur mine, aussi leur beau semblant, *des Dames*]
Dont maint estime estre en leur grace.

In the Prologue to *Les Arrêts d'Amours*, by Martial d'Auvergne, "les déesses, . . . legistes, et clergesses qui s'avoient le decret par cuer," are all clad in green. This singular volume of burlesque decrees

¹ The signification of green in the Dutch poems studied by Seelmann (n. 4, p. 149 above) is "Anfang de Liebe."

contains many other allusions to garments and decorations of green; most of them without significance, except as they show the great popularity of the color and its common association with the affairs of love.

In chanson XLIX (*Chansons du XV^{me} siècle*, ed. Paris); green is said to be the livery of lovers.

Chaucer's Alceste, who, as we have noted (p. 147 above), is clad in green, is led upon the scene by the King of Love, and represents in appearance a daisy, the flower which the green-clad followers of the Flower particularly worship. See *L. G. W.*, text B, ll. 213, 242, 303, 341.

Isis, in *A. G.*, (ll. 332-34), wears a gown "grene as any gresse in the somertyde."

Venus, in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* (l. 221; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 334), is dressed in green and black.

Malory describes a "maying of Arthur's knights, all clad in green."

Rosall and Lust, in *C. L.* (ll. 816, 1059; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 431, 437), are clad in green.

In the May eclogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, "love-lads . . . girt in gawdy greene" are mentioned; and Lechery is given a green gown in *The Faerie Queene* (I, iv, 25).

In Stubb's *Anatomie of Abuses* (ed. Furnivall, New Shakspere Society, 1877-79, p. 147) we are told of the followers of the Lord of Misrule, clad in "liveries of greene, yellow, or some other light wanton color."

Shakspere, in *Love's Labour's Lost* (I, ii, 90), mentions green as "the colour of lovers."

Green also was frequently associated with fairies and other supernatural creatures. In the ballad of Thomas Rhymer,¹ for instance, the queen of Elfland is attired in green. "The Wee Wee Man"² calls up a vision of twenty-four ladies in green, who dance "jimp and sma." A mermaiden in green entices Clerk Colvill away from his "gay ladie."³ And—to go somewhat afield into folklore—Mannhardt⁴ writes at great length of "Waldgeister" of various kinds clad in green.

Another extremely popular mediæval use of green was in connection with forestry and hunting.⁵ Robin Hood and his men regularly wore suits of green, and other "merry men," out-

¹ Child, ballad 37, Vol. I, pp. 323-26.

³ *Ibid.*, 42, Vol. I, pp. 387-89.

² *Ibid.*, 38, Vol. I, pp. 330-33.

⁴ *Der Baumkultus*, pp. 111, 117, etc.

⁵ Explained in an interesting way in the following passage, quoted in the *New English Dictionary* (under "Green") from Trevisa's translation of Bartholemew de Glanville's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*: "Hunters clothe themself in grene for the beest lonyth kyndely grene colours."

laws, and hunters in the ballads are similarly clad.¹ Chaucer's yeoman, too, "was clad in cote and hood of grene;"² and Emily, in the *Knight's Tale*,³ wears a green gown on the May morning when she goes forth with Theseus and his company to hunt. According to an old proverb,

The first of May
Is Robin Hood's day;

and at least as early as the fifteenth century Robin Hood and his men were associated in England with the May games.⁴ Thus, since it is undue love of hunting and hawking and playing in meads that is specifically condemned in the followers of the Flower, their green costumes may possibly be accounted for without going away from England.

Thus far we have been examining cases of the use of white and green separately, where a symbolic meaning is attached to the colors or implied by the context. Many more examples might doubtless be found,⁵ as mediæval poetry is full of details about costumes, and the colors in question were exceptionally popular. But it seems sufficient to conclude with a few important instances of the use of the two colors together.

At the ceremonies after the coronation of Charles VI of France, in 1380, "ceux de la ville de Paris allèrent au devant de luy bien deux milles personnes vestus tout un, c'est à savoir de robes my-partis de vert et de blanc."⁶ Even though in this narrative no specific significance is attached to the colors, the circumstance is of interest. Much more important, however, is the use of the colors in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*,⁷ where on

¹ See Child, "Robin Hood Ballads," *passim*, Vol. III; also ballads 73 D, stanza 11; 107 A, stanzas 25, 30, 76; 305 A, stanzas 19, 32. Of course, a very much longer list could be made, were it necessary to be exhaustive. See, for instance, *Ipomedon*, ed. Kölbing, I. 657.

² *C. T.*, A, l. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 1686.

⁴ See the accounts of May games in Strutt's *Sport and Pastimes*, Book IV, chap. iii, secs. xv-xx; Strutt's romance, *Queenhoo-Hall*, sec. i; Hone's *Every-Day Book*, Vol. I, pp. 239 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 234 ff.; Hone's *Table Book*, pp. 271 ff.; Hone's *Year Book*, pp. 257 ff.; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*; Mannhardt's *Baumkultus*, pp. 160 ff.; Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. I, pp. 571 ff.

⁵ For instance, in the romances, which I have not examined with this matter especially in view.

⁶ Quoted from Jean des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI," in *Mémoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, p. 342.

⁷ *Oeuvres*, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff. The poem will be analyzed somewhat in detail in chap. iii, below.

one day knights clad in white joust before ladies in white, and on the next day both knights and ladies are clad in green. Here also no significance is attached to the colors, and the same persons wear the different costumes on different days; yet there is enough similarity in the attendant circumstances—the jousting; the order in which the colors appear; the attention to details about armor, harness, precious stones, gold embroidery, and so forth—to justify a strong suspicion that the author of *F. L.* knew the French woman's poem. Christine de Pisan makes a good deal of account of the "Ordre de la Dame Blanche à l'Escu Verd," which was formed by the famous Marechal Boucicault in 1399,¹ for the protection of women. The emblem of the order was "une targe d'or esmaillié de verd, à tout une dame blanche dedans." It seems reasonable to believe that the "dame blanche" represented the purity which the knights of the order were to protect; what the green background signified is not so clear.

That white and green were sometimes associated together in connection with the observances of May is shown by an account, in Hall's Chronicle,² of a "maying" of Henry VIII, in which the company were clad in green on one occasion and in white on another. In Machyn's *Diary*,³ too, there is mention of a white and green May pole, around which danced a company of men and women wearing "baldrykes" of white and green.

The conclusion, then, as to colors, is that the use of white and green in *F. L.* is substantially in accordance with tradition. White regularly signifies purity, and is associated with martial prowess and joy; the wearers of white in our poem are famous warriors, pure women, and steadfast lovers. Green is inconsistently interpreted; but in actual use is most often associated with pleasures of the lighter sort for which the followers of the Flower are condemned.

CHAPLETS OF LEAVES AND OF FLOWERS

The wearing of chaplets, whether of leaves or flowers, was a regular feature of the observance of May Day and other medi-

¹ See *Mémoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, pp. 209, 255; C. de Pisan's *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, pp. 208, 210, 220, 302, 303, etc.

² 1809 ed., pp. 515, 520; quoted by Mannhardt, p. 368.

³ Ed. Nichols (Camden Society, 1848), p. 20.

several outdoor festivities of the spring and summer.¹ In *F. L.* this practice is used to distinguish the parties further by giving chaplets of leaves to the company of the Leaf; of flowers, to the company of the Flower.

Laurel wreaths, as it seems hardly necessary to say, were frequently used from very early times as tokens of honor. Apollo was often represented with a crown of laurel, "comme dieu qui purifie, qui illumine, et qui triomphe."² Chaucer presents Theseus

With laurer crowned as a conquerour.³

Christine de Pisan has a ballade on men "digne d'estre de lorier couronné."⁴ Lydgate represents St. Margaret as crowned with laurel,⁵ and in *A. G.*, l. 791, Virtue is crowned with laurel. Thus it is in accordance with a very common conventionality that in *F. L.* laurel wreaths are given to the Nine Worthies, and those that were "hardy" and "wan victorious name."⁶

Woodbine is worn by those that

never were	(485)
To love untrewe in word, ne thought, ne dede,	
But ay stedfast.	

A significance like this is attached by Lydgate to hawthorn;⁷ and both Chaucer and the author of *F. L.* mention woodbine and hawthorn together.⁸ The latter especially was very popular during the Middle Ages, and generally associated with the festivities of May. Hawthorn branches were used in "planting the May," and the hawthorn blossom was often called "the May."⁹ The special appropriateness of hawthorn for the adherents of the Leaf is indicated in the following passages:

¹ The examples cited of the different kinds of chaplets will furnish sufficient evidence of the prevalence of the custom. Reference may be made, however, to *R. R.*, ed. Michel, Vol. I, pp. 247, 248, note; and to Hinstorff's dissertation on *Kulturgeschichtliches im "Roman de l'Escoufe" und im "Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole"* (Darmstadt, 1896). See also the authorities cited on p. 152 above, n. 4.

² Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. II, p. 193.

³ *C. T.*, A, l. 1027.

⁴ *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, p. 2.

⁵ "Life of St. Margarete," Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. 446 ff, l. 42.

⁶ *Ll.* 240, 249, 479-81, 502-32. ⁷ *T. G.*, ll. 503-16; see p. 138 above. ⁸ *C. T.*, A, l. 1508; *F. L.*, l. 272.

⁹ See Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions* (Paris 1856), p. 101; Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, pp. 343, 365; Chambers, *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 571; Schick's notes on *T. G.*, pp. 99, 100, 136; Rolland, *Flore Populaire*, Vol. V (1904), pp. 157 ff.

L'aubépine, la fleur du printemps, était vénérée dans nos campagnes. On en faisait un emblème de pureté, et on lui prêtait des vertus merveilleuses; on en portait aussi une branche comme un préservatif contre le tonnerre.¹

Au temps de la chevalerie, l'amant qui les circonstances condamnait à subir une longue attente avant de voir couronner ses voeux, présentait à la dame que les avait fait naître un rameau d'aubépine, lié d'un ruban de velours incarnat, ce qui signifiait qu'il vivait de l'espérance et demeurait fidèle.²

The nightingale, singer for the Leaf, is frequently associated with the hawthorn, as in *C. N.*, where, after his defense of true love against the scoffing cuckoo, he flies into a hawthorn bush.³ Similarly the nightingale sings from a "thorn" in Lydgate's *Night. II*,⁴ and in *C. L.* he goes to matins "within a temple shapen hawthorn-wise."⁵

Two other kinds of leaves remain for chaplets—"okes cereal," of which also Emily's crown was made when she appeared in Diana's temple,⁶ and *agnus castus*, which was proverbially believed to be a preservative of chastity.⁷

Chaplets of flowers are much more frequently mentioned than chaplets of leaves, and were associated regularly with the festivities of light love. Venus and Cupid are generally represented as crowned with roses.⁸ Oiseuse in *R. R.* likewise wore a chaplet of roses.⁹ Chaucer gives Priapus garlands of flowers in *P. F.*, l. 259.

¹ Tarbé, *Romancero de Champagne* (Reims, 1863), Vol. II, p. 50. Sir John Maundeville also testifies to the potency of the white thorn or "albespine" against thunder (*Travels*, chap. ii).

² Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions*, p. 101.

³ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 347 ff., l. 287.

⁴ *Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. Glauning (E. E. T. S., 1900), ll. 10, 11, 61, 355, 356. See Glauning's note on l. 10.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 400 ff., l. 1354.

⁶ C. T., A, l. 2290.

⁷ See Professor Skeat's notes on both cereal oak and *agnus castus*, on *F. L.*, ll. 160, 209. The following may also be added from Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. II, p. 4: "Dans les fêtes athénienennes des Thesmophores, les jeunes filles s'ornaient des fleurs de l'*agnus-castus* et couchaient sur les feuilles de cette plante, pour garder leur pureté et leur état de vierges."

⁸ See Schick's note on l. 505 of Lydgate's *T. G.* The following additions may be made to the passages there quoted: Cupid wears a garland of flowers in *Fable* (ref. p. 162 below), p. 23; in *R. R.*, l. 908, Chaucerian version; in *L. G. W.*, A, l. 160; B, l. 228.

⁹ L. 566, Chaucerian version.

The following passage from Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (1303) is of decided interest:

3yf þou euer yn felde, eyper in toune,
Dedyst floure-gerland or coroune
To make wommen to gadyr þere,
To se whych þat feyrer were;
Pys ys aȝens þe commaundement,
And þe halyday for þe ys shent;
Hyt ys a gaderyng for lecherye,
And ful grete prude, & herte hye.¹

Mention of chaplets of flowers is particularly frequent in connection with the observances of May. Thus Colin Muset² says that in May, when the nightingale sings, he must wear a chaplet of flowers "por moi déduire et déporter;" and in another poem he describes companies of young men and girls who

Chantent et font grant revel,
Chascuns a chapel de flor.

An Italian poem of the thirteenth century, attributed to Dino Campagni,³ contains the following lines:

Ne bei mesi d'aprile e di maio,
La gente fa di fior le ghirlandette,
Donzelle e cavalieri d' alto paraio
Cantan d'amore novelle e canzonette.

Froissart tells in his *Paradys d'Amours* of meeting and loving Bel Acueil,

Qui faisoit chapeaus de flourettes.⁴

She makes him a chaplet, and he in payment recites to her his ballade of the marguerite.⁵ Deschamps mentions the making of chaplets of flowers, in connection with the observance of May Day, in both his *Lay Amoureux* and his *Lay de Franchise*.⁶ The ladies whom the hero of *C. O.*⁷ meets are making garlands of flowers. The poems of Christine de Pisan contain numerous

¹ E. E. T. S., ed. Furnivall, Part I (1901), ll. 997 ff.

² *Chansonniers de Champagne*, ed. Tarbé (Reims, 1850), pp. 87, 90, 92.

³ Quoted by Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 228.

⁴ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff., l. 1473.

⁵ To be discussed below, p. 158.

⁶ To be analyzed in chap. iii below.

⁷ In *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. Wright (Camden Society, 1841), pp. 310 ff.

references to this custom;¹ and—to conclude a list that might be longer—the lovers in *C. L.* wear garlands of flowers.²

An interesting specific contrast of leaf and flower is in the following passage from Gubernatis:

Dans le Tyrol italien, les jeunes filles portent sur leurs cheveux une petite feuille verte, symbole de leur virginité . . . ; le jour de leur mariage, elles perdent le droit de la porter et la remplacent par des fleurs artificielles.³

This is a bit of undated folklore; but the resemblance to part of the symbolism of leaf and flower in *F. L.* is striking. On the whole, it should be very clear that the use of the chaplets in our poem is in accordance with well-defined tradition.

THE CULT OF THE DAISY

Though *F. L.* presents no such description of the daisy as may be found in many another poem, the rôle of that flower is very important, since it is the object worshiped by the green-clad followers of the Flower. Such choice of a particular blossom is not a feature of any other poem we have on the strife of the Flower and the Leaf; but it is not at all surprising, in view of the widespread cult of the daisy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴

The earliest poem of importance on the subject is Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite*.⁵ This is a complimentary poem and bears no specific resemblance to *F. L.* The poet emphasizes the connection of the daisy with the affairs of love, saying that its scent produces love and its root cures the pains of love,⁶ and he promises to serve and love this flower only.

Machaut's pupil, Deschamps, has a ballade complimentary to "une dame du nom de Marguerite,"⁷ and virtually repeats the

¹ See *Œuvres*, Vol. I, pp. 218, 236, 239; Vol. II, *Dit de la Pastoure*, ll. 634, 670, pp. 243, 244.

² *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409 ff., ll. 440, 450. On the general subject of flowers in connection with the observance of May Day, reference may be made to Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 153; Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, p. 344, etc.; and the authorities cited in n. 4, p. 152 above.

³ *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 143.

⁴ See Professor Lowes' article referred to above, p. 124, n. 1. I have limited my discussion to matters directly bearing on *F. L.*

⁵ *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 123-29. ⁶ See Morley's *English Writers*, Vol. V, pp. 133 ff.

⁷ *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 379; already referred to in connection with the significance of the colors (p. 143 above).

contents of this ballade in his *Lay de Franchise*.¹ In both these places the flower is spoken of as "blanche et vermeille,"² and the lady is said to be endowed with admirable qualities which the different parts of the flower symbolize. In the latter respect, as already noted, there is inconsistency with the allegory of our poem, and the bit of descriptive detail—"blanche et vermeille"—is practically inevitable in writing of a "Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flow'r." Hence the only thing especially worthy of note about Deschamps' love of the daisy is that his tribute in the *Lay de Franchise* occurs in a setting somewhat like that of *F. L.*³

Deschamps was primarily complimenting a lady named Marguerite; Froissart the chronicler, though not guiltless of complimentary intentions, seems really to have loved the flower somewhat as Chaucer loved it. He mentions it nearly everywhere. His best known poem on the subject is the ballade in *Le Paradys d'Amours*,⁴ with the refrain:

Sus toutes flours j'aime la margherite.

In *La Prison Amoureuse*⁵ Froissart used

une fleur petite
Que nous appellons margherite,

for the seal, or *cachet*, of the lover in an amorous correspondence. He imitated Machaut, also, in devoting a whole poem to this favorite flower—*Le Dittie de la Flour de la Margherite*,⁶ in which the praise is similar to that by Chaucer in the Prologue to *L. G. W.* And his seventeenth *Pastourelle*⁷ concludes each stanza with the refrain:

La margherite à la plus belle—

'that is, of the shepherdesses celebrated in the poem. It should perhaps be noted especially that in the ballade above referred to the daisy is praised for its enduring freshness (somewhat in contrast with its rôle in *F. L.*), but is associated with springtime and conventional love.

¹ *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff., ll. 30 ff.

² Compare *F. L.*, 333, and *L. G. W.*, A, 42.

³ See above, p. 135; below, chap. iii.

⁴ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 241 ff., ll. 896, 899.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 209 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 343 ff.

Whatever cult of the daisy there was in England seems to have been due to the influence of Chaucer, and he doubtless was familiar with some at least of the French poems just mentioned.¹ His tribute in the Prologue to *L. G. W.*,² in close connection as it is with his reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf,³ must have been in the mind of the author of our poem; even though he seem inconsistent in making the frivolous company of the Flower do homage to the daisy, whereas in Chaucer the faithful Alcestis is transformed into that flower. It hardly need be pointed out that this inconsistency resembles that between *F. L.* and Deschamps, who makes the green of the stalk of the daisy symbolize constancy. And it must be admitted that, in spite of the association of this flower with springtime festivities and light love, the exalted position given it by Chaucer and Deschamps is more fully in accord with the common mediæval belief in its healing powers, emphasized in Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite*.⁴

Various references to Chaucer's happy bit of myth-making in regard to Alcestis have been pointed out by Professors Skeat and Schick.⁵ In one of these I find striking expression, heretofore unnoticed, of a prominent thought of *F. L.* Lydgate's *Poem against Self-Love*⁶ contains these lines:

Alcestis flower, with white, with red and green,
Displaieth hir crown geyn Phebus bemys brihte,
In stormys dreepithe, conseye what I meene,
Look in thy myrour and deeme noon othir wihte.

The italicized words describe so exactly the state of the flower and its followers after the storm that comes upon them⁷ as to suggest that Lydgate was directly alluding to our poem.

Other notable English references to the daisy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are as follows: In *C. N.*, with its discussion of love, the setting is a land of daisies, and healing properties are attributed to the flower.⁸ The *Compleynt* which

¹ See the articles by Kittredge and Lowes, cited above, p. 124, n. 1.

² Text B, ll. 40-65.

³ B, l. 72.

⁴ See p. 157 above, and the passage from Morley there referred to.

⁵ See Schick's note on ll. 70-74 of Lydgate's *T. G.*, p. 74 of his edition, and the references there given.

⁶ *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 156 ff.; especially p. 161.

⁷ *F. L.*, ll. 368-71.

⁸ Ll. 63, 243 ff.; ref. p. 155 above.

Professor Schick prints as an appendix to his edition of *T. G.* presents an extended tribute to the daisy,¹ in which most of the elements found in the French poets and Chaucer are repeated. If Lydgate wrote this poem (as is very doubtful, however) it is especially interesting on account of his very frequent reference to the flower.² "A Ballad" beginning:

In the season of Feuerere whan it was full cold,
printed first with Stowe's Chaucer of 1561, but rejected by
Tyrwhitt and subsequent editors,³ is a tribute to the daisy, which
may allude to the worship of this flower by the Order of the
Flower. Lovers are addressed, and told that they

Owe for to worship the lusty floures alway,
And in especiall one is called see⁴ of the day,
The daisee, a floure white and rede,
And in French called La bele Margarete.

In two poems of some importance later than *F. L.* daisies form part of the setting: in *A. L.*, ll. 57 ff.,⁵ and in *C. L.*, ll. 101 ff.

The refrain purporting to be quoted in *F. L.* from some French original—"Si douce est la margarete"⁶—I have not yet found elsewhere. The fact that the spelling "margarete," to rime with "swete," is not used in French—so far as I can learn—suggests the possibility that the line may have been composed by the English poet to suit the convenience of the rime.

On the whole, the use of the daisy in connection with May Day festivities is more or less conventional, but was probably directly suggested by Chaucer, with very likely a reference to Machaut, Deschamps, or Froissart for the lighter signification attached to the flower in *F. L.* It also seems probable that Lydgate knew our poem and directly alludes to it.

THE NIGHTINGALE

The nightingale in *F. L.* flies to Diana, the lady of the Leaf; the goldfinch, to Flora, the lady of the Flower. The former represents the more serious side of man's nature, shown in affairs of

¹ Ll. 394 ff.

² See Schick's note, p. 74.

³ See Skeat: *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. xiii. Most easily accessible in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 562.

⁴ Apparently an error for "ee."

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380 ff.

⁶ *F. L.*, l. 350.

love by steadfastness; the latter, the more frivolous side, with a suggestion of inconstancy in love. Here the conformity with literary tradition is not so strict as in relation to most of the other matters discussed in this chapter.

The nightingale, with other birds, was an element of the conventional springtime setting,¹ and as such became inevitably associated with the festivities of love, whether serious and steadfast, or the lighter love with which we have found green garments and garlands of flowers associated. The general popularity of the nightingale in mediæval poetry (or, for that matter, in the poetry of all times and all nations where the bird is found) is too well known to require comment.² A very large number, perhaps even a majority, of all the poems I have read which present the springtime setting give the nightingale a place of prominence—or the place of most prominence—among the birds that rejoice the poet's heart, or cheer the lover and remind him of his mistress.³

Along with this general association with love, however, there is a tendency to exalt the character of the nightingale, to associate her⁴ with the better sort of love—with inspiration to brave deeds and even with religion—and thus make it more appropriate that she should be the singer for the brave and steadfast company of the Leaf. Giving the nightingale a serious character is probably due, in part at least, to the bird's association with the classical story of Philomela, and to the mediæval superstition that she

¹ To be discussed in chap. iii below.

² See Uhland, *Abhandlung über die deutschen Volkslieder, passim*.

³ On the association of the nightingale with the affairs of love see Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 217 ff. The following additions may be made to the examples there referred to: The nightingale cries on the green leaf for love (Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Vol. I, p. 173). The nightingale is sent with a message of love to the "jardin d'amour" (Tarbé's *Romancero de Champagne*, Vol. II, p. 159). On the nightingale as a messenger see also Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, 2d ed., p. 97; *Romania*, Vol. III, pp. 97, 98; Vol. VII, pp. 55, 57; *Chansons du XVme siècle*, Nos. lxxvii, civ, cxxxix, etc.; Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France* (Paris, 1879), Vol. II, pp. 275 ff. Christine de Pisan, in her *Dit de Poissy* (*Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 164, 165), describes the singing of nightingales against "le faulz jalouz." In Chaucer's *T. C.* (II, ll. 918-24) a nightingale sings a love song that lulls Criseyde to sleep. In Lydgate's *B. K.* (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff.)—

"the nightingale (47)
With so gret mighte her voys gan out-wreste
Right as her herte for love wolde breste."

Cf. this with *F. L.*, ll. 99-102, 447-49.

⁴ Though it is in fact the male nightingale that sings, the mediæval poets generally thought otherwise.

sang with her heart impaled upon a thorn.¹ The following examples will illustrate the tendency:

The burden of the first part of *Fablet* (ed. Jubinal, Paris, 1834) is the nightingale's complaint of the degeneracy of love.

In *Venus* (ed. Förster, Bonn, 1880) the nightingale writes a charter containing a decree of love, in which loyal love is commanded.

Uhland cites examples of the inspiration of warriors by the nightingale's song (*Abhandlung*, ed. Fischer, p. 87).

In Froissart's *Loenge de May* (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. II, pp. 194 ff.) the song of the nightingale inspires the lover to ardent praise of his mistress and resolutions of loyalty to her.

In *C. O.* and many of the *Chansons* (e. g., *cvi*, *cix*) the nightingale sings to gladden the hearts of those in pain for love.²

The part of the bird is very prominent in the *Chansons*. She "praises true lovers in her pretty song" (lxvii). She is the messenger of a neglected mistress to remind her lover of his duty (lxxii, cxxiii).³ She is asked for advice in a love affair (cxvii).

The nightingale in *C. N.* speaks in defense of true love against the scoffing cuckoo (see p. 155 above, and p. 163 below).

Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems* are mainly religious allegories, in which the nightingale represents Christ; but in II, ll. 16, 17, the poet says he "understood that she was asking Venus for vengeance on false lovers." In l. 68 she praises pure love.

In the *Devotions of the Fowls*, printed by Halliwell with Lydgate's *M. P.* (pp. 78 ff.), but of doubtful authenticity, the nightingale sings of Christ's resurrection.

In *The Thrush and the Nightingale* (Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, Vol. I, pp. 50 ff.; and *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. I, p. 241) the nightingale defends women against the attacks of the thrush, and is admitted by the latter to win the victory.

In the *Buke of the Howlat* (*Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed. Amours; S. T. S., 1897) nightingales (with other birds) sing a hymn to the virgin (ll. 716 ff.).

Dunbar has the nightingale defend the thesis that "All lufe is lost bot vpon God allone" (*Poems*, S. T. S., Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.).⁴

So far as a relation of any of the above poems with *F. L.* is concerned, the function of the nightingale is most important in

¹ See Chambers, *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 515; Schick's note on Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, II, ii, 50.

² She does not always rejoice the lover, however; see cxx, cxxi.

³ See other examples of use of the nightingale as a messenger, n. 3, p. 161 above.

⁴ The rôle of the bird in the *Owl and the Nightingale* is not exalted, but this poem is considerably earlier than any but a very few of those here considered, and seems to have little, if any, connection with any of them.

C. N. This bird's defense there is primarily of love and love service in general, but the emphasis is distinctly on true service, such as the lovers among the adherents of the Leaf would render.

THE GOLDFINCH

The goldfinch is not nearly so often mentioned as the nightingale, but when he receives a character it is consistent with that given him in *F. L.* Thus the "prentis" in Chaucer's *Cook's Tale*¹ is described as "gaillard . . . as goldfinch in the shawe." In the pseudo-Chaucerian *Pardonere and Tapstere* I find the expression "as glad as any goldfynch."² And in *C. L.* the "goldfinch fresh and gay" sings a psalm to the effect that "the god of Love hath erth in governaunce."³ Professor Skeat's suggestion that the goldfinch in *F. L.* is like the cuckoo in *C. N.* in representing faithless love⁴ is based upon an entirely unjustifiable interpretation of the latter poem. The cuckoo scoffs at love altogether and refuses ever "in loves yok to drawe."⁵ He argues that lovers are the worst off of all people on earth,⁶ because all sorts of evils come from love.⁷ The cuckoo would agree with the chaste members of the company of the Leaf rather than with the gay adherents of the Flower.

THE LAUREL AND MEDLAR TREES

Whatever significance may be attached to the trees in which the birds sing in *F. L.* has been partly indicated above (p. 154), so far as the laurel is concerned. The laurel has leaves that last,⁸ and has been associated for centuries with noble deeds. In classical mythology Daphne was changed to a laurel to preserve her virginity. The tree was sacred among the Greeks and Romans,⁹ and in mediæval times was credited with power to protect against

¹ C. T., A, l. 4367. ² Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 638. ³ L. 1371.

⁴ Note at bottom of p. 530, *Chaucerian Pieces*. ⁵ L. 140. ⁶ Ll. 141-44. ⁷ Ll. 171-75.

⁸ As noted by Chaucer in *P. F.*, ll. 173, 182, and by Lydgate in *C. B.* (*M. P.*, p. 180). The latter passage deserves quotation because of the mention of Flora, queen of the Flower in our poem:

"And the laurealle of nature is ay grene,
Of flowres also Flora goddes and queene."

Further evidences of the popularity of the laurel are given in Glauning's note on *Night*, I, l. 63.

⁹ On the laurel in general see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere*, 7th ed. (Berlin, 1902), pp. 220 ff.

thunder,¹ such as the hawthorn also was thought to have. The bird sings from a laurel in Lydgate's *C. B.*,² and the nightingale from a laurel in *Night*. I, l. 63.

The medlar tree, on the other hand, though not very frequently mentioned in mediæval poetry, is plainly associated with hastiness and decay, or over-sudden ripeness, as in Chaucer's *Reeve's Prologue*.³ Shakspere refers to the same characteristic in language very similar to that of Chaucer,⁴ besides giving the name "rotten medlar" to Mistress Overdone,⁵ and implying bad things of the medlar in *Romeo and Juliet*.⁶ This tree is deciduous; its blossoms last but a short time, and its fruit ripens and rots quickly; so that a certain fitness is manifest in connecting it with the idle, faithless, luckless followers of the Flower.

THE DANCING AND JOUSTING

A few points remain as to the action of the allegory. The singing and dancing of both companies are without special significance. So also, probably, is the jousting among themselves by the knights of the Leaf. Singing and dancing always accompanied the observance of May Day, and jousting was a common feature of nearly every sort of celebration. The details of the jousting in *F. L.* resemble in a general way familiar passages in the *Knight's Tale* and in Lydgate's imitation of the latter, *The Story of Thebes*.⁷ Two French accounts of jousts are also worth mention: that in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, because of the use of green and white costumes;⁸ and that in Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*,⁹ because the setting there and portions of the action somewhat resemble those of *F. L.*

THE STORM

The storm that was so uncomfortable for the followers of the Flower seems significant only as to its result. In its combination of wind and hail and rain it bears some resemblance to the

¹ See Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions*, p. 539; Hone's *Year Book*, p. 776.

² *M. P.*, p. 181.

³ *C. T.*, A. II, 3871-73.

⁴ *A. Y. L.* I, III, ii, 125-28.

⁵ *M. M.*, IV, iii, 184.

⁶ II, 1, 35, 36.

⁷ *C. T.*, A, II, 2599 ff.; *Thebes*, in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 581, etc.

⁸ See p. 152, 153 above.

⁹ Ref. p. 143 above.

miraculous storm in Chrestian de Troyes' *Yvain*,¹ but the resemblance is not strong enough to justify any assumption of relationship. The most striking comments on a storm, so far as possible relations with *F. L.* are concerned, are in Lydgate's *Testament*,² as follows:

Lych as in Ver men gretly them delite
To beholde the bewtē sovereyne
Of thes blosmys, som blew, rede, and white,
To whos fresshnesse no colour may atteyne,
But than unwarly comyth a wynd sodeyne,
For no favour list nat for to spare
Fresshnesse of braunchys, for to make hem bare.
.
.
.
Whan Ver is fresshest of blosmys and of flourys,
An unwar storm his freshnessse may apayre.

RELATION OF F. L. WITH THE LAY DU TROT

The bedraggled condition of the adherents of the Flower after the storm is worthy of note chiefly because it has been compared with the condition of a company of women in the Old French *Lay du Trot*. This comparison was first made by Sandras,³ and has been repeated by others.⁴

Substantially the same story appears in several forms, of which the Breton *Lay du Trot* is probably the earliest.⁵ In this poem Lorois, a knight of Arthur's court, sees passing through the midst of a forest two companies of ladies. The ladies of one company ride on white palfreys, are splendidly arrayed, crowned with roses, and accompanied by *amis*, all because of their graciousness in matters of love. The ladies of the other company are mounted on wretched nags, miserably dressed, and in torment because they have cruelly refused to love.

In the Latin work of Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*,⁶ there are three companies of women led by the God of Love. Those in

¹ Ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1887), ll. 397-407, 432-50.

² M. P., ed. Halliwell, pp. 245, 246.

³ *Étude sur Chaucer*, pp. 104, 105.

⁴ Notably by Morley, *English Writers*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Lai d'Iguamès*, ed. Moumerqué and Michel (Paris, 1882). I have not had access to this edition, and am therefore indebted to Sandras, and to notes kindly lent me by Professor W. H. Schofield, of Harvard, for my brief analysis.

⁶ *Andreas Capellani Regii Francorum de Amore*, ed. Trojel (Copenhagen, 1892). This work is very important in relation to mediæval imitation of Ovid, *R. R.*, the Court of Love poems, etc., and has therefore been analyzed at length by Neilson, Mott, Langlois, and others.

the first company are gorgeously arrayed, well mounted, and attended each by three knights. They are women who, while alive, wisely bestowed their love. The second troop are in great discomfort because of the number who wish to wait on them; they are women of loose virtue. The women of the third troop are like those of the second in the *Lay du Trot*. One of their number explains the significance of all three companies. The whole vision is described by a knight to a lady whom he wishes to frighten out of her coldness.

Gower's tale of Rosiphele, in the fourth book of the *Confessio Amantis*,¹ is in essentials only slightly different. The heroine

hadde o defalte of Slowthe
Towardes love,

and could not be prevailed upon to think of matrimony. While walking in a park before sunrise one day in May, she saw a company of ladies richly clad in white and blue, and mounted on great white horses well caparisoned. They were followed by a woman with torn attire, who rode alone on a very sorry looking horse and carried all the halters for the others. This woman, when asked, explained that the ladies whom she attended were "servantz to love" (1376), and that she was but their "horse knave" (1399) because she "liste noght to love obeie" (1389).²

On the whole, it is difficult to see how these stories can have been thought very similar to *F. L.* Even the miserable women are miserable chiefly because of their lack of attendants and the condition of their horses, and their plight is not due to any cause even remotely resembling the storm in our poem. In Gower's version, indeed, the woman is

Fair of visage, (1361)
Freyssh, lusti, yong and of tendre age;

a very different person from one who has just been burned by sun and drenched by rain and bruised by hail. The allegory, too, is

¹ Ll. 1245 ff.

² In purpose Boccaccio's tale of Anastasio (*Decamerone*, V, 8) is similar to these; but the details are different, as the cavalcade disappears, and we have instead a single lady suffering great tortures after death for her hard-heartedness. On this whole matter of the "purgatory of cruel beauties," see an article by Professor Neilson in *Romania*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 85 ff.

in most respects different; for the persons in *F. L.* that correspond most nearly in character to the unfortunate women in these stories are, not any of the adherents of the Flower, but the strictly chaste members of the company of the Leaf (*F. L.*, 477). The only resemblance in the allegory is in the fact that the adherents of the Flower are condemned for idleness, and Gower's serving woman is being punished for sloth (or idleness) in love. This seems to be a superficial resemblance, not in harmony with the spirit of our poem. Thus the real similarities are few and nearly all general; namely: the fact that there are contrasted companies, one of which is in sorry plight of some kind and for some reason (for the kind and the reason are not similar); the fact that in Gower the fortunate company are clad in white and blue, in *F. L.* in white; and the fact that a member of one of the companies explains who all the people are and what their action means.¹ It is probable that the author of our poem knew the story in Gower, but there is no sufficient reason for assuming a knowledge of the *Lay du Trot* or Andreas Capellanus.

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¹The interpreter is common to all allegories; see chap. iii, below, *passim*, and Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 213 ff. The significance of the colors has been discussed on pp. 143-46 above.



CHAUCER'S USE OF BOCCACCIO'S "FILOCOLLO"

In the passage in Book III of *Troilus and Criseyde*¹ recounting the occurrences immediately preceding the first night together of the young lovers, Chaucer departs widely from the account offered him in *Il Filostrato*.²

The passage in the Italian poem may be briefly sketched as follows:

Through Pardaro's agency, Griseida has appointed a night for Troilo's coming to her. Troilo goes secretly but boldly in the dark to an obscure part of Griseida's house, and on his arrival she coughs, as a sign to him that she is aware of his presence. After sending her household to bed, Griseida, with a taper in her hand, goes to Troilo, praying his pardon for having kept him hidden. Troilo refuses to see the courtesy, and after many embraces they ascend the steps into Griseida's chamber, where with little delay they betake themselves to bed, and "D' amor sentiron l'ultimo valore."³

This is manifestly no adequate basis for the related passage in *Troilus and Criseyde*, the general action of which may be sketched as follows:

With the purpose of bringing Troilus and Criseyde together at his house, Pandarus chooses a night that promises to be dark and rainy, and invites Criseyde to supper. When she has been assured that Troilus is in no way connected with the invitation, and that she shall be secure from the gossip of "goosish peple,"⁴ she comes at evening to Pandarus' house, accompanied by a few of her women. While Pandarus and Criseyde sup, sing, make music, and tell tales, Troilus looks on through a little window of an adjoining chamber. On account of the increased rain during the evening, Pandarus has no difficulty at bedtime in persuading

¹ Book III, ll. 512-1190. Citations are made from *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by W. W. Skeat, Vol. II (Oxford, 1894).

² Parte III, St. 24-32. Citations are made from *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. XIII (Firenze [Per Ig. Moutier], 1831).

³ *Ibid.*, III, 32, 8.

⁴ *T. and C.*, III, 584.

Criseyde to spend the night at his house. Pandarus conducts his niece to her bed in an inner chamber, and provides for her attendants in a passage outside her door; and, after making sure that all are at the point of sleep, he goes to Troilus, scolds courage into him, and draws him through a trap-door into Criseyde's room, concealing him, we may assume, in a dark corner or behind a curtain. Criseyde awakes, but Pandarus checks her attempted outcry, and comforts her by the assurance that he alone is invading her chamber. Gradually and skilfully he reveals to her that Troilus has entered the house by a secret way, and is at the point of madness with jealousy of Orestes, who, according to report, has supplanted him in Criseyde's heart. Criseyde protests that she can never be untrue to Troilus, and offers to Pandarus her ring with which to comfort the young lover. Pandarus scoffs¹ at such comforting, and at last persuades Criseyde to remain in bed while Troilus comes to her. Troilus is ready at hand, and while Pandarus sits near by and pretends to read "an old romaunce,"² Criseyde upbraids Troilus so severely for his unfounded jealousy and shows so poignant grief that Troilus falls in a faint. Pandarus springs impatiently to Troilus, throws him into the bed, and with Criseyde's aid brings him back to consciousness. After taking from Troilus such oaths as she wishes, Criseyde makes no objection to his remaining in bed with her, and Pandarus withdraws, leaving them together for the night. During their night together, in intervals of dallying, they exchange rings, and Criseyde gives Troilus a brooch. At the arrival of "cruel day"³ the lovers reluctantly separate, and Troilus sorrowfully hastens to his palace.

Before estimating Chaucer's originality in thus changing what lay before him in *Il Filostrato*, we should note the resem-

¹ *T. and C.*, III, 891, 892:

... "that ring moste han a stoon
That mighte dede men alyve maken."

² *Cf. T. and C.*, III, 1368, 1369:

"And pleyinge entrechaungeden hir ringes,
Of which I can nought tellen no scripture."

Is Chaucer alluding to such magical rings as are used in *Filocolo* (cf. Moutier, Vol. VII, pp. 110, 111, 147, 148, 152, 170, 263, 332, 353; Vol. VIII, p. 199), in Guido delle Colonne (*Historia Troiana* [Strassburg, 1489], sig. b 1, verso, cols. 1, 2), and in *Roman de Troie* (edited by L. Constans, Tome I [Paris, 1904], ll. 1677-1702)? Cf. below, p. 177, n. 2.

³ *T. and C.*, III, 980.

³ *T. and C.*, III, 1450.

blance between Chaucer's account and a passage in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*,¹ which may be outlined as follows:

The enamored Florio, under his new name, Filocolo, has followed Biancofiore to Alexandria. Having ingratiated himself with Sadoc, the guardian of the tower in which Biancofiore with her attendant, Glorizia, is confined, Florio arranges to be conveyed into the tower by concealing himself in a basket of flowers that the *Ammiraglio* is to send to Biancofiore on an approaching gala-day. On the appointed day, Glorizia succeeds in conveying Florio into the tower without his being discovered, and when she has deposited him in one of Biancofiore's rooms and has locked the door, the ardent young lover demands his *inamorata*. Glorizia explains to him that in his immediate appearance to his lady there is involved the twofold danger of scandal and of disaster to Biancofiore from sudden joy. Therefore Glorizia arranges to conceal Florio in an adjoining chamber, from which he can observe Biancofiore and her attendants in their merry-making, and promises later to conduct him from the side-chamber and conceal him behind the curtains of Biancofiore's bed, where he must await his lady's going to sleep before revealing himself. Glorizia warns him that Biancofiore will be severely frightened when she awakes, but that her fear will soon give way to joy, and Glorizia promises herself to be near at hand to prevent any mis-carriage of her plan. Glorizia arouses the melancholy Biancofiore to taking part in the festivities of the day, and comforts her by recounting a dream in which she saw Florio appear in Biancofiore's chamber. Biancofiore and her maids celebrate the day with flowers and music, while Florio looks on through a little hole from the adjoining chamber. At night Glorizia arranges Biancofiore's bed and conceals Florio behind the curtains. While Biancofiore prepares for bed, Glorizia arouses her feelings for Florio, by suggesting now the possibility, and again the impossibility, of his coming. Glorizia goes so far as to suggest to Biancofiore that some other man might please her in Florio's absence; a suggestion that Biancofiore passionately repudiates, while referring with sorrow to Florio's groundless jealousy of

¹ Libro IV, Vol. VIII (Moutier, Firenze, 1829), pp. 165-83.

Fileno. When Glorizia leaves her, Biancofiore lies down, but only after she is exhausted by sighs for Florio does she give herself up to sleep. Florio advances and caresses her as she sleeps, and finally embraces her at the very moment when she dreams of being in his arms. When she awakes in fright, she attempts to call for Glorizia, but Florio prevents her, and at last convinces her of the reality of his presence. She inquires by what way he has reached her, and he, attributing all to the gods, urges that they delay their delight no longer. Taking her ring and calling Hymen, Juno, and Venus to witness, Florio is ready for the espousal. At Biancofiore's suggestion they take vows before an image of Cupid in her room, after which Florio places the ring upon her finger and the marriage is consummated. After they have waked Glorizia to rejoice with them, the lovers retire and spend the night together.

In spite of the divergent external circumstances of the two accounts, one must admit at least that the passage in *Filocolo* offers the general situation of the related passage in *Troilus and Criseyde*. In both stories a third person is arranging for the meeting of two lovers secretly, at night, in the bed-chamber of the *inamorata*, the latter being unaware that her lover is concealed near at hand. In one case the go-between resorts to concealment in order to avert scandal and personal disaster to the lady, in the other to avert scandal and to overcome the lady's scruples. The fact that in one case the *inamorata* frankly desires the meeting, while in the other she does not, happens not to affect the general procedure. Criseyde's scruples do, however, demand more delicate and persistent manipulation on the part of her uncle, and thus we readily account for the more subtle and prominent rôle of Pandarus in Chaucer's account.¹ The fact that Chaucer's go-between is a man and Boccaccio's a woman makes no perceptible change in the action, for Pandarus and Glorizia show their respective charges precisely the same intimate personal attention.²

¹ That the Glorizia of Boccaccio is quite capable of undertaking the more difficult rôle of Pandarus is indicated by her own words: "Se altro forse avvenisse io vi sard vicina, e lei caccerò col mio parlare d'ogni errore." (Moutier, Vol. VIII, p. 169.)

² Moreover, Chaucer did not deliberately choose to give to a man the rôle of go-between in this episode; he merely used the character already provided by his story of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

Passing from the general situation to details, we are forced to note that several significant minor circumstances of Chaucer's account occur also in *Filocolo*.

1. In each case the *inamorata* is led to believe that her lover is out of town.

He swor hir, "nay, for he was out of towne."¹

Or ecco, disse Glorizia, tu nol puoi avere, egli non c' è, nè ci può venire.²

Come può essere che tu qui sii ora ch' io ti credeva in Ispagna?³

2. In each case the lover, concealed in an adjoining chamber, observes through a small orifice the merry-making in which his lady takes part.

And she to souper com, whan it was eve,
With a certayn of hir owene men
And with hir faire nece Antigone,
And othere of hir wommen nyne or ten;
But who was glad now, who, as trowe ye,
But Troilus, that stood and mighte it see
Thurgh-out a litel windowe in a stewe,
Then he bishet, sin midnight, was in mewe,
Unwist of every wight but of Pandare?
But to the poynt; now whan she was y-come
With alle joye, and alle frendes fare,
Hir eem anoon in armes hath hir nome,
And after to the souper, alle and some,
Whan tyme was, ful softe they hem sette;
God wot, ther was no deyntee for to fette.
And after souper gonnen they to ryse,
At ese wel, with hertes fresshe and glade,
And wel was him that coude best devyse
To lyken hir, or that hir laughen made.

He song; she pleyde; he tolde tale of Wade.⁴

Io in una camera a questa contigua ti metterò, dalla quale tu potrai ciò che in questa camera si farà vedere: qui dimorando tacitamente, io senza dire a Biancofiore alcuna cosa che tu qui sii, qua entro colle sue compagne la farò venire, dove tu la potrai quanto ti piacerà vedere.⁵

Levossi adunque per li conforti di Glorizia Biancofiore, e coll' altre comincia a far festa, secondo che usata era per addietro. Elle avevano

¹ *T. and C.*, III, 570.

² *Mout.*, Vol. VIII, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁴ *T. and C.*, III, 595-614.

⁵ *Mout.*, Vol. VIII, p. 168.

già tutte le rose prese . . . e quale sonando con usata mano dolci strumenti, e altre presesi per mano danzando, e altre facendo diversi atti di festa, e gittando l' una all' altra rose insieme motteggiandosi, e Biancofiore similmente no sapendo che da Filocolo veduta fosse . . . Filocolo che per piccolo pertugio vide nella bella camera entrar Biancofiore, di pietà tale nel viso divenne, quale colui che morto a' fuochi è portato.¹

3. In each case the go-between, while keeping the lover concealed, prepares the mind of the *inamorata* for his coming by vague suggestions of such a possibility.

Sone after this, to him she gan to rowne,
And asked him if Troilus were there?
He swor hir, "nay, for he was out of towne,"
And seyde, "nece, *I pose that he were*,
You thurfte never have the more fere,
For rather than men mighte him ther aspye,
Me were lever a thousand-fold to dye."²

Certo, rispose Glorizia, e' mi parve vedere nella tua camera il tuo Florio esser venuto, non so per che via nè per che modo.³

Glorizia disse: Biancofiore, se iddio ciò che tu desideri ti conceda, vorresti che Florio fosse qui teco ora indiritto?⁴

4. The jealousy of the lover figures prominently in both stories. This *motif*, treated briefly at this point in *Filocolo*, is developed by Chaucer into great lyric and dramatic importance.

"Horaste! alas! and falsen Troilus?
I knowe him not, god helpe me so," quod she.⁵

Egli non è nel mondo brevemente uomo, cui io desideri nè che mi piaccia, se non egli: e poich' io lui non vidi, e' non mi parve uomo vedere, non che alcuno me ne piacesse, avvegnachè egli a torto ebbe già opinione che io amassi Fileno.⁶

5. In each story the lady takes oaths from her lover before finally admitting him to her bed.

Sone after this, though it no nede were,
Whan she swich othes as hir list devyse
Hadde of him take, hir thoughte tho no fere,
Ne cause eek non, to bidde him thennes ryse.⁷

¹ Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 172.

² *T. and C.*, III, 568-74; cf. III, 771-84.

³ Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁵ *T. and C.*, III, 806, 807; cf. III, 796-840, 987-1054.

⁶ *T. and C.*, III, 1142-45.

⁶ Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 175; cf. Vol. VII, pp. 247-79.

Col tuo medesimo anello ti sposerò, alla qual cosa Imeneo, e la santa Giunone e Venere nostra dea siano presenti. Disse allora Biancofiore: mai di ciò che ora mi parli dubitai . . . e davanti alla santa figura del nostro iddio questo facciamo.¹

6. In both stories the lovers make use of rings.

And pleynge entrechaungeden hir ringes,
Of which I can nought tellen no scripture.²

E mentre in questa festa dimorano, Biancofiore dimanda che sia del suo anello, il quale Florio nel suo dito gli le mostra . . . col tuo medesimo anello ti sposerò.³

Perche Biancofiore . . . disteso il dito recevette il matrimoniale anello.⁴

7. Although there is in Chaucer's poem no formal ceremony of marriage like that in *Filocolo*⁵ before the image of Cupid, the English poem does furnish a parallel in the interchanging of rings just mentioned, in the prayer of Troilus to Love and to "Citherea the swete,"⁶ and in Criseyde's acceptance of his vows.

Than seyde he thus, "O, Love, O, Charitee,
Thy moder eek, Citherea the swete,
After thy-self next heried be she,
Venus mene I, the wel-willy planete;
And next that, Imenēus, I thee grete;
For never man was to yow goddes holde
As I, which ye han brought fro cares colde."
.

And for thou me, that coude leest deserve
Of hem that nombred been un-to thy grace,
Hast holpen, ther I lykly was to sterve,
And me bistowen in so heygh a place
That thilke boundes may no blisse pace,
I can no more, but laude and reverence
Be to thy bounte and thyn excellencie!"

And therwith-al Criseyde anoon he kiste,
Of which, certeyn, she felte no disese.
And thus seyde he, "now wolde god I wiste,

¹ Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 181.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 182.

² *T. and C.*, III, 1368, 1369.

⁶ *T. and C.*, III., 1255.

³ Mout., Vol. VIII, pp. 180, 181.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1254-60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Myn herte swete, how I yow mighte plesē!¹

And for the love of god, my lady dere,
Sin god hath wrought me for I shal yow serve,
As thus I mene, that ye wol be my stere,
To do me live, if that yow liste, or sterue,²

For certes, fresshe wommanliche wyf,
This dar I seye, that throuthe and diligence,
That shal ye finden in me al my lyf,
Ne I wol not, certeyn, breken your defence;
And if I do, present or in absence,
For love of god, lat slee me with the dede,
If that it lyke un-to your womanhede."

"Y-wis," quod she, "myn owne hertes list,
My ground of ese, and al my herte dere,
Graunt mercy, for on that is al my trist;
But late us falle awey fro this matere;
For it suffyseth, this that seyd is here.
And at o word, with-outen repentaunce,
Wel-come, my knight, my pees, my suffisaunce!"³

These words, with the interchanging of rings,⁴ may, perhaps, be regarded as Chaucer's substitute for a more formal ceremony like that in *Filocolo*.

Davanti alla bella immagine di Cupido se n'andarono . . . e Florio primamente cominciò così a dire: o santo Iddio, signore delle nostre menti, a cui noi della nostra puerizia abbiamo con intera fede servito, riguarda con pietoso occhio alla presente opera. Io . . . cereo quello che tu ne' cuori de' tuoi subietti fai desiderare, e a questa giovane con indissolubile matrimonio cerco di congiungermi. . . . Tu sii nostro Imeneo. Tu in luogo della santa Giunone guarda le nostre facceline, e sii testimonio del nostro maritaggio . . . perchè Biancofiore, che simile orazione avea fatta, disteso il dito ricevette il matrimoniale anello; e levata suso come sposa, vergognosamente dinanzi alla santa immagine baciò Florio, ed egli lei.⁵

Without pursuing details further,⁶ we may conclude that the general and particular similarities between the English and

¹ *T. and C.*, III, 1268-78.

² *Ibid.*, 1289-92.

³ *Ibid.*, 1296-1309.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1368.

⁵ Moutier, Vol. VIII, pp. 181, 182.

⁶ It is hardly necessary to press the parallel between *T. and C.*, III, 1247-53, and *Filocolo* (Moutier), Vol. VIII, p. 179, ll. 1-8.

Italian stories¹ compared above justify our inferring a literary connection between this passage in *Filocolo* and the related passage in *Troilus and Criseyde*.² The importance that anyone may attach to such similarities as have been pointed out above will decide for him the question as to whether Chaucer borrowed only through general unconscious recollection or by direct use of the Italian text.³

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¹ It is to be noted that in the French romance *Floire et Blanceflor* (edited by E. Du Méril [Paris, 1866], II, 2148-2269) there are no details like those brought out above in the comparison of *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Filocolo*.

² In connection with the passage in *Troilus and Criseyde* and in *Filocolo* dealt with above, attention has not been called to an episode in the story of Jason and Medea as recounted in the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-More (L. Constans, *Le Roman de Troie*, Tome I [Paris, 1904], II, 1447-1702), and in the *Historia Troiana* of Guido delle Colonne (*Historia Troiana* [Strassburg, 1489], sig. a 7 recto, col. 2-sig. b 1 verso, col. 2). The French poet and his translator give the same account of this episode, with slight variations in detail, Benoit being, in general, more vivid and less didactic. Following the French version, we may outline the episode as follows:

Medea arranges directly with Jason to have him brought to her apartment at night, in order that she may receive his vows of love and may instruct him concerning his approaching adventures. She impatiently awaits the coming of night, and when the household have retired, she orders her faithful servant to fetch Jason from a room near by. The servant arranges Medea in bed, and when she brings Jason to the room of her mistress, Medea pretends to be asleep, feigning surprise when Jason wakes her. When the servant retires, Jason vows faithfulness to Medea and offers to do her pleasure. After taking his oath before an image of Jupiter, she admits him to her bed. Before they separate at break of day, Medea gives him a ring of magic properties and presses upon him her parting advice.

Apparently this passage is at least faintly paralleled to those in *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Filocolo* already mentioned.

That Boccaccio in *Il Filostrato* used other parts of the *Roman de Troie* than those dealing directly with the episode of Troilus and Briseida is shown by Soverz-Lopez (*Romania*, Vol. XXVII [1898], pp. 451-53). A similar wider use of the *Historia Troiana* in *Troilus and Criseyde* is indicated by G. L. Hamilton (*Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne* [New York, 1903], pp. 71-74).

³ Although I am already prepared to point out parallels between other parts of *Filocolo* and *Troilus and Criseyde*, I postpone mentioning these parallels until I shall have made a more complete study of the relations of these two works to each other.



CHAUCER AND PETRARCH: TWO NOTES ON THE "CLERKES TALE"

I. THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF INDEBTEDNESS TO PETRARCH

The words which Chaucer puts into the mouth of his Clerk, expressing obligation to Petrarch for the story of Griselda, have hitherto figured in discussion chiefly in their bearing on a matter of biographical detail—as evidence, accepted or rejected, for the actual meeting of the two poets. In this aspect the passage has been debated back and forth for nearly two centuries, and has become stereotyped at length into one of those haunting problems from which excessive treatment has banished all interest and profit. In what I have to present concerning the form of Chaucer's acknowledgment, I wish that it were possible to avoid allusion to this biographical question altogether, for I am truly not concerned with it, but only with the explanation and illustration of the artistic or literary technique employed. Still, since it is true that my conclusions have a bearing upon the matter, not revolutionary nor even novel—for they will only confirm the attitude of conservative scholarship since Tyrwhitt, which is merely agnostic—I shall not perhaps wholly escape some entanglement with the literature of the controversy.

Among the arguments of those who have seen in the *Clerk's Prologue* satisfactory evidence for the actual meeting of Petrarch and Chaucer, no stronger one has been found than the contention that the form of Chaucer's acknowledgment is exceptional and unique, and corresponds, therefore, to exceptional circumstances in his relation to the author from whom he has drawn, viz., personal acquaintance. To M. Jusserand¹ in 1896, as to Godwin² in 1803,

¹ Jusserand, in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1896, p. 996: "A statement of this sort is of a very unusual kind. Chaucer derived the subjects of his tales and of many of his minor poems from a variety of authors, living or dead, and he never went into so many particulars. It seems *prima facie* obvious that this unusual way corresponds to an unusual intention, and that, instead of merely giving his authority, he wanted here to commemorate and preserve the remembrance of an event the souvenir of which was dear to him."

² Godwin, *Life of Chaucer*, Vol. II, p. 150: "We may defy all the ingenuity of criticism to invent a different solution for the simple and decisive circumstance of Chaucer having

this is one of the two considerations which seem to raise a possibility of much imaginative appeal to the level of an historical certainty. I have no biographical interest in challenging this conclusion, but the premise upon which it is based affords me a convenient foil against which to define my purpose in touching upon this question: It is, to show that the acknowledgment which Chaucer makes to Petrarch corresponds exactly to a general method used in the citation of *literary sources* in a related form of ancient literature, the Ciceronian dialogue.

The suggestion that the conclusions, drawn from a study of the method of citing literary sources in the ancient dialogue might be of service to students of modern literature, I owe to my colleague, Professor Manly, who pointed out to me the similarity of Chaucer's expression of obligation in the Clerk's Tale to certain typical instances which I had adduced from ancient literature and presented in a paper read¹ before the Philological Society of our university.

I there explained that the dialogue, as a dramatic reproduction of conversation, seeks to maintain the fiction that oral communication is the normal method for the exchange of ideas between contemporaries, and that therefore, so far as possible, it avoids allusion to books even in acknowledgment of literary obligations. When such acknowledgment is to be made, it places the characters of the dialogue in some relation of personal communication with the sources of the ideas presented. This usage I illustrated in some detail from the dialogues of Cicero, which I grouped into two classes: (1) dialogues the dramatic setting of which lies wholly in the past; (2) dialogues contemporary with the time of the writer, in which he himself participates; here I differentiated again between expressions of obligation (*a*) attributed

gone out of his way, in a manner which he has employed on no other occasion, to make the clerk of Oxenford confess that he learned the story from Petrarcha, and even assign the exact place of Petrarcha's residence in the concluding part of his life." M. Jusserand (pp. 997 f.) also makes much of this last point, showing by new evidence that, contrary to the usual belief, Petrarch was actually at Padua, and not at Arqua, just at the time of Chaucer's sojourn in Italy. But Petrarch whether at Arqua or Padua was still Petrarcha *Patavinus*.

¹ At the second meeting of the winter quarter, 1906: "Literary Sources of Cicero's *Brutus* and the Technique of Citation in Dialogue." It is published in the *American Journal of Philology* for July, 1906.

to other interlocutors, and (b) those which the author himself, as a speaker in the dialogue, makes.

Of the first type the *De oratore* affords a good illustration. Here, in Book I, the scholastic discussion concerning the nature of rhetoric and its relation to philosophy and statesmanship is set forth. From other sources we know that this problem was discussed with special zeal in the second half of the second century B. C. by Greek philosophers and rhetoricians in Athens and in Rhodes. It is certain that from their writings Cicero had his knowledge of this controversy and drew from them the materials which he places in the mouths of his characters. They, however, in the dramatic mechanism of the dialogue do not once refer to these writings, but profess to have their knowledge of the subject from actual conversations and debates with the philosophers or rhetoricians in question. This is the consistent method of allusion to sources contemporary with the dramatic date of the dialogue employed throughout the treatise. Conspicuous writers of an earlier time are cited freely enough ("Aristoteles, Isocrates, Theophrastus ait, dicit," etc.), but wherever allusion or acknowledgment is made to a contemporary or to some one of the immediate past, it is through some dramatic device of personal association or communication.

Of the second class (2, a) the *Academica priora* (Lucullus) affords a conspicuous illustration. In this dialogue we have a treatise drawn from a work of the Greek philosopher Antiochus, which Cicero has, in fact, almost transcribed. This obligation, however, he does not acknowledge directly, but through the means of a dramatic situation, as follows: Lucullus is represented as having come to Alexandria as proquaestor with Antiochus, where they met one Heraclitus of Tyre, a friend of Antiochus and a fellow-philosopher. They had just received a remarkable book of Philo, the master of Antiochus, which was so revolutionary in its doctrine that for several days it afforded material for discussions between Antiochus, Heraclitus, and other philosophers, to which Lucullus listened with great interest and participation. As a result he mastered the subject thoroughly and so explains his ability to present the views of Antiochus in the dialogue, the

scene of which is laid some years later at Rome. This case is one of peculiar interest, because Cicero later became dissatisfied with the setting he had given the matter, since the person of Lucullus seemed on reflection inappropriate for a display of interest and erudition in such matters. Accordingly, in a second edition of the work (*Academica posteriora*) he allotted the principal rôle to Varro. But Varro in turn does not acknowledge a literary obligation to Antiochus, but professes to reproduce from memory the lectures which he had heard in his youth.

The last type (2, b), in which the writer himself as an interlocutor in the dialogue refers matter derived from a literary source to oral communication or personal intercourse with the author of the literary source in question, was, for the purposes of my investigation into the sources of the *Brutus*, the most important of all. Examples of this type were also found where it was possible to show with reasonable certainty that the same method of acknowledgment of literary sources was employed as in the former cases. That is, as soon as the author himself steps into the scene of the dialogue drama which he has created, he becomes subject to the same rule as he applies to the other characters of the dialogue. For the purposes of our present inquiry it is not necessary that I should illustrate this form by detailed examples. I will only add that by recognition of the nature of this method (which was yielded by a comparison of examples from Cicero's philosophical dialogues) it was possible to recover important fragments of pre-Ciceronian literature, which have hitherto passed for narratives derived from Cicero's boyhood acquaintance with the men from whom he professes to have heard them.

The principle of dialogue composition thus set forth is a natural one: it rests upon the universal psychology (so to speak) of the situation, rather than upon any recognized rule or tradition of art. It is not, so far as I am aware, alluded to in any ancient discussions of the theory of dialogue, unless it be implied in the suggestive phrase of Demetrius (*De elocutione* 224): ὁ διάλογος μιμεῖται αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα—"the dialogue reproduces the tone of extempore or improvised speech." Neither has it been formulated by any modern students of the ancient dialogue, though in practice

it has sometimes been recognized by the investigators into the sources of Cicero's philosophical works (Hirzel, Reid, and others). There is no doubt, I think, that the dialogue or similar dramatic literature of any language would reveal the same usage, and a number of analogous examples I have noted from the English dialogues of Bishop Hurd (who facilitates inquiry by the considerate use of learned footnotes). So, for instance, in the *Dialogue on the Uses of Foreign Travel* (between the Earl of Shaftesbury and Locke) Hurd incorporates a story and an exact quotation from Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, which he places in the mouth of Locke, and makes acknowledgment for this indebtedness by causing Locke to address Shaftesbury with the words: "As I have *heard* you tell the story."

The application of these observations to the *Canterbury Tales* and to Chaucer's expression of obligation to Petrarch will be seen at once. The ancient dialogue, especially of the Ciceronian type, has in all essential respects a mechanism and technique analogous to the type of dramatic narrative which the Germans call picturesquely the *Rahmenerzählung*. In both the author introduces the characters, sets them in relations of conversational intercourse with one another, and out of such situations develops the longer narratives or discussions which are the real purpose of the composition. In both the aim is to maintain in the interludes which introduce or conclude the longer narratives an atmosphere of natural conversational intercourse suitable to the character of the interlocutors. If the author has acknowledgments of indebtedness for particular parts to make, they must be made through the utterances of his speakers in a manner conformable to the unrestrained and conversational nature of the whole situation. In the ancient dialogue, as we have seen, the participants are placed in a relation of oral communication with the sources from which they profess to draw. The reasons for this are obvious: the desire to avoid the appearance of pedantry which would result from the actual citation of a written source; the further desire to give to the communication an air of novelty, as of something which, though derived from another, is now communicated to the present audience for the first time. No one likes to confess that

he got his joke from *Punch*; it suits his own and the listeners' sense of effectiveness much better to attribute it to personal experience,¹ or to direct communication from someone either named or nameless,² or merely to remembrance.³ It is this universal feeling which the dialogue, or other similar literary forms, aims to reproduce. The source indicated by the speaker may or may not be the actual source from which the author drew.⁴ That is a point which must be determined in each case for itself. The essential thing is that the interlocutor will not, as a rule, make acknowledgment to a literary source, except in referring to well-known authors of an earlier time.⁵

With this preface we may now note the acknowledgment which the Clerk makes to Petrarch:

I wol yow telle a tale which that I
Lerned at Padewe of a worthy clerk,
· · · · ·
Fraunceys Petrark the laureat poete, etc.

The form of allusion to the source is, it will be seen, identical with the examples which I have cited above for the ancient dialogue (under the heading 2, a), as when Cicero causes Lucullus to confess obligation to Antiochus for matter which he heard at Alexandria. The two examples are perfectly parallel—Chaucer, the Clerk, and Petrarch, corresponding exactly to Cicero, Lucullus, and Antiochus. In each case the author's source was a literary one, but, in conformity with the demands of the underlying dramatic fiction, in each case it is transformed into an oral one. Professor Skeat, on the evidence of this passage, says (Vol. III, p. 454): "Chaucer himself tells us that he met Petrarch at Padua,"

¹ As, for example, in the *Cooks Tale* (A 4342): "I wol yow telle as well as ever I can | A litel jape that fil in our citee." So also the *Friars Tale*, D 1299. Cf. the *Pardoner's Prologue*, C 460: "A moral tale . . . which I am wont to preche."

² The *Clerkes Tale* (source named). The *Man of Lawes Tale* (source indicated): "a marchaunt, gone is many a yere, | Me taughte a tale" (B 131).

³ Sir Thopas (B 1897): "For other tale certes can I noon | But of a rhyme I lerned long agoon." The Franklin's prologue (F 713): "And oon of hem have I in remembrance."

⁴ So, for example, the *Man of Lawes Tale* is attributed vaguely to a "marchaunt;" it was derived by Chaucer from Nicholas Trivet.

⁵ For the Ciceronian dialogue I refer to such general allusions as "Plato (Aristoteles) ait," etc. Chaucer parades classical names sometimes ostentatiously, often in playful satire of the pedantry of his time. See the end of the *Wife's Tale* and the protest of the Friar (D 1276), "and lete auctoritez, on goddes name."

and in a note he adds: "to which it is not unusual to object by insisting that it was not Chaucer himself who met Petrarch, but the Clerk who tells the tale. I doubt if this amounts to more than a quibble." Resuming again in the text, he continues: "Only let us suppose for a moment that Chaucer himself knew best, that he is not intentionally and unnecessarily inventing his statements, and all difficulty vanishes." But in the light of the examples which have been adduced it will require no arguments to show the complete misapprehension of the poet's technique which these words contain. That Chaucer invents his statements we shall not deny; that he invents even intentionally is also true. We shall not, however, concede that he invents unnecessarily, though the necessity in this case is perhaps to be called rather an artistic impulse, arising from the demands of the general dramatic scene which the poet has created.

Indeed, one may go a step farther and raise Professor Skeat's "quibble" to a higher power. One may safely contend that, even if Chaucer himself had chosen to narrate the story of *Griselda* (instead of Sir Thopas and Melibeus), and in his rôle as a character in the dramatic situation explained that he had learned the tale from Petrarch at Padua, we should still not be certain that we were standing on historical ground in taking his assurance literally. As in the third group of examples cited above for the ancient dialogue (2, b), it might still be merely the fiction of the author moving his characters (including himself) in such a way as to make the expression of obligation suitable to the conversational character of the whole setting. Much less ground is there for identifying Chaucer with the Clerk. As well might we infer that Cicero had been present at Alexandria and heard the discussions of Antiochus which he causes Lucullus to report.

But there remains yet another point which demands explanation in this particular case. For why, it will be asked, if this is a natural form of recognition of a literary indebtedness, which the poet makes through the mouth of his character—why does the Clerk go on and make further acknowledgment to the literary source itself, the written tale of Petrarch? Here again the ancient dialogue furnishes us certain analogous examples which

serve to illustrate the underlying psychology of the phenomenon, though the decisive analogue will be derived from Chaucer himself. Although the dialogue is a fictitious reproduction of conversation, yet, since it is written to be read and not to be spoken, the dramatic fiction upon which it is based falls away more easily than in the case of real drama. The author therefore may at times lapse inadvertently from the strict consistency of the situation which he has created, and appeal directly to his audience as *readers*, instead of as *listeners* to the conversation of his interlocutors.

Inconsistencies of this sort in the ancient dialogue are found, but the instances are not numerous, or at all events have not often been observed. Thus for instance in *De legibus* (I, 15) Atticus addresses Cicero and says: "and yet if you ask what I expect (it is this): since you have *written* concerning the State, it seems fitting for you next to *write* concerning Laws." The allusion here is first to the earlier dialogue, that is *conversation*, *De re publica*, and next to the very discussion which they were about to take up in dialogue form, *De legibus*. Indeed, in the very sentence which follows Cicero shifts back again to the conversational point of view of dialogue with the words: "visne igitur ut *quaeramus*," and a moment later: "non enim id *quaerimus* *hoc sermone*." The most conspicuous example of this sort to be found in Chaucer occurs in the *Seconde Nonnes Tale* (G. 78 ff.):

Yet preye I you that *reden* what I *wryte*, etc.

The undramatic character of this tale as a whole has, of course, long been recognized; yet the fact that such incongruities were not eliminated when the story was given a place in the framework of the *Tales* serves to illustrate how easily the shift from the attitude of speaker into that of writer could take place and be overlooked by the author.

It is such a lapse from the consistency of the dramatic situation which confronts us in the *Prologue* to the *Clerkes Tale*:

But forth to tellen of this worthy man,
That *taughte* me this tale, as I bigan,
I seye that first with heigh style he endyteth,
Er he the body of his tale *wryteth*, etc.

That is, as in the presentation of the matter assigned to the characters the dramatic fiction demands *speak* (or *hear*), and not *write* (or *read*), so also in the acknowledgment of contemporary sources the same rule holds, and *wryteth* is here a lapse from the consistency of the pose, implied in the earlier words of the prologue, analogous to the examples cited above. It may be urged that such an inconsistency would scarcely occur in such close proximity to the correct dramatic form *taughte me this tale* and the preceding *lerned at Padewe*. The only answer that can be made to this objection is to produce similar examples. One such I have cited from Cicero above; another—and this, I think, is decisive—is afforded by Chaucer at the end of the *Prologue to Melibœus*:

Ye shul not finden muche difference
Fro the sentence of this tretis lyte
After the which this mery tale I *wryte*.
And therefor *herkneth* what that I shal seye,
And let me *tellen* al my tale, I preye.

Much has been made of the fact that Chaucer here uses a form of acknowledgment such as he has not employed elsewhere in his *Canterbury Tales*. But to this it must be replied that the circumstances of his indebtedness are unique. Is there another example in the *Tales* of a story taken with such closeness of imitation from a source contemporary and of anything like equal eminence? Surely, Boccaccio cannot be instanced for the *Knight's Tale*; and indeed for any analogue at all one must fall back upon the story of the *Man of Law*, derived from the Anglo-Norman chronicle of Nicholas Trivet. But how different the circumstances of indebtedness: Trivet, a learned chronicler whose life barely, if at all, overlapped that of Chaucer, whose personality can scarcely have stood out for him in any sharpness of outline, whose work in general was of a quasi-historical character that would be thought of as merely recording the common possession of all mankind, and whose story of *Constance* was but one version of a tale widely diffused in the literature of the later Middle Ages. But these are problems quite apart from my purpose, and I should abuse the benevolence of the readers of *Modern Philology* if I ventured

farther afield in a territory which has been hospitable enough to receive me at all. To have shown that the form of acknowledgement which is apparently unique in Chaucer conforms to a general rule and to a type of technique found in a related form of ancient literature is all that I have aimed to do.

II. ON THE "HIGH STYLE" ATTRIBUTED TO PETRARCH'S VERSION OF THE STORY OF "GRISELDA"

Concerning the date of the *Clerk's Tale* Professor Skeat, on the confident assumption that Chaucer heard the story from Petrarch and received from him a copy of it, places it very early—that is, in 1373 or 1374. But no arguments of any validity—for the stanza form can scarcely be reckoned as in any way conclusive—are advanced for this date, even conceding the correctness of his fundamental assumption. Mr. Mather has reviewed the matter carefully in his valuable discussion in *Modern Language Notes* (Vol. XII, col. 15), and finds no reason why the composition should not be assigned to the general period of the *Canterbury Tales*—that is, after 1385. The fact would seem to be that the available material yields no certain chronological indication whatever.

But one thing can be said with certainty, viz., that the *Tale* was completely composed before the *Prologue* was written. The evidence for this lies in the fact that the proemium of Petrarch, descriptive of the scene of the story, is set forth twice with very inartistic effect—once at the end of the *Prologue*, and again in the first stanza of the *Tale* itself. That this is the case will appear from a mere comparison of the two parts with Petrarch's original, and the matter does not require detailed explanation. Professor Skeat has apparently overlooked this fact and seems to assume that the two descriptions follow Petrarch's introduction in orderly sequence; for on line 57,

There is at the west syde of Itaille
Down at the rote of Vesaulus the cold,

he says: "Chaucer is not quite so close a translator here as usual; the passage in Petrarch being, 'inter cetera ad radicem Vesuli, terra Salutiarum, vicis et castellis satis frequens, Marchionum arbitrio

nobilium quorundam regitur virorum.'" His note is obviously a hurried jotting (suggested perhaps by the single phrase common to both passages, *ad radicem Vesuli*), for no one examining the matter with any care can fail to observe that the whole of the first stanza is a condensed and fine reproduction of Petrarch's whole description down to the words which Professor Skeat cites, with elimination of the geographical detail.

The preface of Petrarch—a rhetorical embellishment upon Boccaccio's abrupt beginning—gives, in language of an elevation and picturesqueness scarcely found elsewhere in the tale itself, a sweeping survey of the whole Lombard plain from the sources of the Po on the west to the lagoons of Venice on the east. It is wrought out with conscious elaboration in the manner of the ancient *ἐκφραστις*, with much richness of geographical color. It is with reference to this that Chaucer says in the *Prologue*:

I seye that first with *heigh style* he endyteth,
 Er he the body of his tale wryteth,
 A proheme, in the which discryveth he
 Pedmond, and of Saluces the contree, etc.

These words, I take it, mean that the proem is in "heigh style," with the implication that "the body of his tale" is in a style at least less elevated. Indeed, though Petrarch's Latin is earnest and aims at a certain classical dignity, yet it will not appear why in any ordinary sense the tale as a whole should be characterized as written in "heigh style." But this term Chaucer does in fact attach to the whole composition, when at the end he reproduces Petrarch's reflections on the significance and bearing of the story:

This storie is seyd, not for that wyves sholde
 Folwen Grisilde as in humilitie,

 But for that every wight in his degree,
 Sholde be constant in adversitee
 As was Grisilde; therefore Petrark wryteth
 This storie, which with *heigh style* he endyteth.

As a student of the ancient classifications of style I was interested to discern here, as I thought, a reminiscence of the *χαρακτήρ* *ἰψηλός* of Dionysius and Pseudo-Longinus, or of the Ciceronian

altitudo orationis, which had been transmitted through the mediæval rhetoric. Although the matter has the appearance of a comment on Petrarch's words, yet it seemed worth while to refer to Petrarch to see if he gave any suggestion of the idea. I found, of course, that the reflections were in fact Petrarch's, introduced by these words: *hanc historiam stylo nunc alio retexere visum fuit, non tam ideo*, etc. The phrase *stilo alio* refers, of course, to the Latin of Petrarch's version contrasted with the Italian (*stilo volgari*) of Boccaccio's original. It was conceivable that Chaucer should call Petrarch's Latin, in contrast with Boccaccio's Italian, "heigh style,"¹ but with the analogy of classical usage in mind I could not repress a suspicion that Chaucer here either found *stilo alto* in his copy of Petrarch, or thus misread the true reading *stilo alio*. For this conjecture I afterward found unexpected confirmation in the extracts from Petrarch's original which are entered upon the margins of the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS,² and are reproduced on p. 402 of the Six-Text edition. There, against line 1142, are entered these words from Petrarch: "hanc historiam *stilo nunc alto retexere visum fuit*," etc.

It thus appears that the "heigh style" which Chaucer attributes to Petrarch's version as a whole is due in the first instance to a textual error. But this does not explain the use of the same description in the prologue. It would seem to me that the matter can be explained naturally in some such way as this: Carrying away from the first execution of the tale itself the memory of this stylistic characterization, Chaucer, on reverting to the subject when he incorporated the story into the *Canterbury Tales*, recognized the special truth of the words in reference to Petrarch's preface. Accordingly, when he added the prologue, he wrote:

I seye that with heigh style he endyteth,
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¹ So Hertzberg, *ad loc.*: "Der hohe Stil bedeutet hier, und wenn ich nicht irre auch v. 7893, nur die lateinische Sprache im Gegensatz zum *stilus vulgaris*."

² To which Professor Kittredge, to whom I had referred my conjecture, called my attention. He added a warning concerning the wisdom of verifying the text of these entries, which I have to my regret not been able to heed.

The desire, then, to illustrate the elevated tone of Petrarch's poem was probably the motive which impelled him to duplicate his first stanza by a version which should reveal more specifically the "high style" of the Latin introduction. This he does with duplication of the essential parts of the first stanza already written, and with inclusion of the impressive geographical detail which he had omitted from his earlier version.

One other observation I will add here in connection with this example of the corruption of Chaucer's MS of Petrarch and the results which grew out of it. It has been the pleasant fancy of those who have insisted that Chaucer describes his own meeting with Petrarch in the *Clerkes Prologue*, that he received from Petrarch himself a copy of the *Griselda*: Professor Skeat would add compulsion by saying: "It is difficult to see how he could have got it otherwise" (Vol. III, p. 455, note). Mr. Hales, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has varied the same theme by urging that he most likely received it from Boccaccio in Florence in September, 1373. Again avoiding entanglement with the biographical question, I would point out that Chaucer's MS of Petrarch was already seriously corrupt—which, to be sure, might have been the case even with an author's presentation copy—and contained variants which would point to some degrees of removal from its origins. At line 420 Chaucer writes:

Thus Walter lowly, nay but royally,
Wedded with fortunat honestetee, etc.

The words of Petrarch, as edited in *Originals and Analogues* from the Basel edition of 1581, are: "Sic Gualtherus humili quidem sed insigni ac prospero matrimonio, honestatis," etc. The text is obviously corrupt, and we should doubtless read: "humili quidem sed insigni ac prospero matrimonio honestatus," etc.—though it is not safe to suggest even so simple a correction without a better knowledge of the actual condition of the evidence of the MSS. But the same corruption is found in the marginal entry of the Ellesmere MS, and it would therefore seem probable that Chaucer found it and owed to it his use of the word *honestetee*. For the words which follow,

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In goddes pees liveth ful esily
At hoom, and outward grace y-nogh had he,

the words of Petrarch are: "Summa domi in pace extra vero summa cum gratia hominum vivebat." It would seem here that Chaucer has added merely the word *goddes*. But the marginal entry of the Ellesmere MS presents the interesting variant "Summa dei in pace." It would seem, then, that Chaucer's copy must have presented both readings *dei* and *domi* ("in goddes pees—at hoom"), one in the text and the other in the margin or above the line, though concerning their exact relation it is impossible to speak. Of course, nothing can be done in problems of this sort until we have a thorough collation of the Petrarch MSS containing the story, and I have touched upon this one point, somewhat rashly I know, merely for the sake of indicating by a concrete illustration a most imperative prerequisite to any intelligent study of Chaucer's relation to Petrarch—a critical text of Petrarch's tale.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF "THE BIRTH OF MERLIN"

Before its publication in 1662 no record exists of the play bearing the following title-page inscription:¹ "The Birth of Merlin: Or, the Childe hath found his Father: As it hath been several times acted with great Applause. Written by William Shakespeare and William Rowley. London: Printed by Tho. Johnson for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh, and are to be sold at the Prince's Arms in Chancery Lane. 1662." Since this ascription of its authorship to Shakespeare constitutes the sole evidence of his connection with the play, the question of the validity of this evidence is the first matter for investigation in an attempt to determine the authorship. It is the question, first, of the publisher's knowledge of the facts, and secondly, of his honesty in setting them forth.

Francis Kirkman was born in 1632.² According to his own testimony, he had been an enthusiastic play-collector from boyhood, and had gathered many curious particulars of the lives of the old dramatists. If he had taken an early interest in this play, he might possibly have acquainted himself with its real authorship; but as the absence of all mention of it previous to its publication goes to indicate that it was not a popular production, he probably had no particular incentive to investigate the question closely, and, no doubt, by the time he had decided to print it the means for such investigation would have become as inadequate for him as for us now. Even if, as Warnke and Proescholdt guess, he followed an old copy in his possession, it is still uncertain that he did not alter the title-page. And even if the old title-page could be produced in evidence that he copied it unchanged, that would not prove that Shakespeare had a hand in the play; for both before and after the death of the master many plays were ascribed to him of whose composition he was wholly guiltless. All that can be said about Kirkman's knowledge of

¹ Warnke and Proescholdt's edition.

² See *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXXI.

the authorship of the play is that he might possibly have ascertained the facts, but that no special reason appears why he should have investigated the question before 1662.

But if it was not that he believed Shakespeare to be the author of the play, what possible motive, asks Tieck,¹ can be assigned to Kirkman for falsely ascribing it to the great dramatist, since Shakespeare's name could not at that time help the sale of the publication? In reply it may be said that, while the tide of Shakespeare's popularity reached low ebb during the Restoration period, it had by no means reached it by 1662, and a strong business motive is not far to seek.² With the reopening of the theaters the traditions of Shakespeare's successes were revived, and though it soon became a fad with the smart set to cry him down as old-fashioned, his plays still drew crowds to the theaters. For example, while Pepys in his trifling way criticises Shakespeare severely, he yet records no less than thirty-six performances of twelve different plays of Shakespeare that he attended between October 11, 1660, and February 6, 1668.³ It must be remembered, furthermore, that at the reopening of the theaters the actors had no choice but to resort to the pieces that had been on the stage before the civil war, since no new playwrights had yet come forward to cater to the new tastes of the public. Three of the older dramatists still retained the prominence that they had enjoyed from the first—Shakespeare, Jonson, and Fletcher.⁴ Under these conditions it was surely not difficult for a keen and not over-scrupulous bookseller to find a shrewd business reason for assigning one of his published plays to Shakespeare. The theaters had been closed for twenty years, a new generation had since grown up, and in those uncritical days the danger of the discovery of the fraud was not a great deterrent.

That Francis Kirkman was not over-scrupulous is a distinct impression derived from the accounts of him that have survived.⁵ At least one of his contemporaries disputes his assertion concern-

¹ *Shakespeares Vorschule*, Vol. II (Leipzig 1829).

² See Lounsbury, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, pp. 257, 258.

³ Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1898), p. 329.

⁴ Lounsbury, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, p. 262.

⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

ing a point of fact about which there could be no difference of mere opinion. Again, can we quite credit his declaration that he had seen acted every one of the 806 plays he catalogued in 1671? Symonds¹ characterizes him as "a most untrustworthy caterer and angler for the public." Ulrici² makes a similar remark and cites evidence of his unreliability. Upon the whole, the title-page ascription to Shakespeare must be regarded with suspicion, and as inconclusive respecting the real authorship of the play.

The opinions of the leading English and German critics who have discussed the play may be classified as follows:

1. Shakespeare wrote most of the play: Horne; see Knight, *Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare*, pp. 311ff.
2. Shakespeare had a large share in it along with Rowley: Delius, *Pseudo-Shakespeare'sche Dramen*, Preface; Tieck, *Shakespeares Vor-schule*, Vol. II, Preface.
3. Shakespeare might have had a hand in a sketch that Rowley worked over later: Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, p. 373.
4. Shakespeare had nothing to do with the play: Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, Vol. II, p. 401; Warnke and Proescholdt, *Pseudo-Shakesperian Plays*; Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, (1898), Vol. II, pp. 243ff; Knight, *Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare*; Fleay, *Life and Works of Shakespeare*, p. 289; Morley, *English Writers*, Vol. XI, p. 286; Daniel and Bullen also take this view.
5. Rowley wrote all of it: Ulrici, Ward, Bullen, Ellis (Mermaid Edition, Middleton).
6. The comic parts were written by Rowley, the serious parts by Middleton: Fleay, Daniel.

Since the second of the above propositions cannot be maintained, it is unnecessary to notice the first. There is no question that Ulrici has effectively disposed of the arguments advanced by Tieck and repeated by Delius in support of the opinion that Shakespeare had a considerable share in the play along with Rowley. Ward has produced further arguments against this position based upon considerations of character portrayal, while Warnke and Proescholdt have pointed out additional objections concerned with plot construction. All of these reasons

¹ *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*, p. 296.

² *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, Vol. II, pp. 401, 366. See also Charles Knight, *Shakespeare: Doubtful Plays*, p. 311; Nathan Drake, *Shakespeare and His Times* (London 1817), Vol. II, p. 570; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XLIX, p. 363; remarks of Malone and Steevens.

taken together constitute convincing proof that Shakespeare had no share of any importance in *The Birth of Merlin*. It is enough to say of the third proposition that it is of too vague a character to admit of any argument. Critics are generally agreed that Rowley wrote the comic parts of the play; it is quite possible, also, that he is responsible for the use of the supernatural element in it. At all events Shakespeare never makes so crudely burlesque a use of that element. Subtracting, therefore, the whole Merlin action, we have left a fairly complete plot concerning the fortunes of Aurelius and his Saxon foes, to which is subjoined the episode of Modestia and Constantia. Now, this episode has absolutely nothing to do with the main action; the two daughters of Donobert are without the slightest excuse in the play. Now, while Shakespeare makes use of double plots and episodes, he never leaves the minor actions totally without organic connection with the main plot. It is certain that he did not design the plot that remains after cutting out Rowley's supposed parts. And if we should still further dissect the action by dropping out the episode of the two sisters, we should have left nothing that Rowley or anyone else could not just as well have derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth as from Shakespeare. There is not the slightest evidence that Rowley worked over a draft of the story by Shakespeare; no one would have ventured the suggestion, had it not been for the highly questionable title-page ascription. The absurd theory proposed by Tieck, that Shakespeare could assume at will the manner of any other dramatist, and that here he adopts Rowley's style, becomes still more ridiculous when it is asked how Shakespeare knew, when writing his "youthful sketch," that it was Rowley who was predestined to work it over.

On the whole, it appears quite probable that the fourth position is the true one, namely, that Shakespeare had no part in *The Birth of Merlin*. Practically the entire array of authoritative critical opinion supports it. Still, considerations of character and plot development are not quite sufficient in themselves to demonstrate the proposition. For the more convincing proof resort must be had to an examination of the language. Omitting the "clown" parts, which are universally conceded to be Rowley's, the

results of a study of the versification of the remainder of the drama may be compared with those tabulated by Dowden¹ of an examination of Shakespeare's versification at a period when, if at all, he must have joined Rowley in *The Birth of Merlin*.

	Shakespeare	<i>Birth of Merlin</i>
Run-on lines.....	0.47	0.16
Rhyme	0.00	0.05
Feminine endings.....	0.33	0.47

This indicates conclusively that Shakespeare did not write the serious parts of the play late in his career, for the versification is not that of this period of the great dramatist's work; but it was only at this period that he could have joined Rowley in writing a play, considering the probable age of the latter, the date of his first appearance as a dramatist, and other significant circumstances. It is beyond question that Shakespeare did not co-operate with Rowley in writing *The Birth of Merlin*.

As to the point raised by Tieck that the play contains a number of Shakespearean touches, it may be noticed that these did not appear to be so striking as to be worth pointing out. Fleay,² however, notes two such passages, and a third may be added, viz., *Birth of Merlin*, IV, i, 194 (and cf. *King Lear*, III, iv, 69). But a few real or fancied echoes of the Shakespearean manner furnish no proof that Shakespeare participated in the authorship of the play. Admitting such evidence, one might argue that the master had a hand in many of the dramas written by his contemporaries and successors, who were impressed with his striking phrases, for many of them consciously or unconsciously echo his manner. A number of such echoes, for example, may be found in Middleton, and, more pointedly for a later consideration, in *The Mayor of Queenborough*.

There remain for discussion the last two propositions; the fifth, being involved in the sixth, may be neglected. The

¹ *Shakespeare Primer*, pp. 40-44.

² *Life and Works of Shakespeare* p. 239. See Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, p. 373.

suggestion advanced by Daniel and adopted by Fleay, that it was Middleton who wrote the serious parts of *The Birth of Merlin*, is worthy of attention. Neither critic gives any reason for the opinion; such reasons, however, may be found. The suggestion is based upon the assumption that Middleton is the author of *The Mayor of Queenborough*,¹ between which and *The Birth of Merlin* may be traced a number of curious parallels, the latter play bearing the relation of counterpart or sequel to the former.

Both plays are concerned with the same events. The characters Vortiger, Aurelius, and Uther Pendragon are common to both. In the *M. of Q.* Constantius takes a part, but is killed early in the action; in the *B. of M.* he is referred to as having been murdered before the beginning of the action. Each play closes with the death of Vortiger. The *M. of Q.* is concerned chiefly with the fortunes of Vortiger; the *B. of M.* chiefly with those of Aurelius. Each play introduces the central character of the other in a minor part. In each play the principal scene is the court of the British king. In each the action turns principally upon the struggle between Britons and Saxons.

Mayor of Queenborough

Roxena, a Saxon princess, at the instigation of the Saxon leaders, ingratiates herself with Vortiger, the British king, marries him, deceives him, and in large measure becomes the cause of his death.

Roxena carries on an intrigue with Horsus. Upon a sudden announcement that she is to marry the king, Horsus is startled into a betrayal of the secret through some inadvertent exclamations.

Vortiger murders Constantius, brother of Aurelius and Uther.

Birth of Merlin

Artesia, a Saxon princess, at the instigation of the Saxon generals, entices the British King Aurelius to marry her, deceives him, and finally causes his death by poison.

Artesia attempts an intrigue with Uther, who, when surprised by the sudden news that she had become the wife of the king, reveals his relations with her in certain involuntary exclamations.

Vortiger is defeated before his castle in Wales by one of the

¹ Ellis, Preface to Mermaid edition of Middleton, raises doubts about the authorship, remarking that the play was not published as Middleton's until 1661; that passages characteristic of Middleton are difficult to find in it; that the buffoonery is not his, but probably Rowley's, as Bullen holds; and that even the serious parts are as much in Rowley's manner as Middleton's. He suggests a comparison with *The Birth of Merlin*, and appears to think both plays entirely the work of Rowley.

Mayor of Queenborough

This leads to his downfall and death after he is surrounded in his castle in Wales by the army of the brothers of his victim.

V. ii, 1, etc.:

UTHER: My lord, the castle is so fortified—
AURELIUS: Let wild fire ruin it
I'll send my heart no peace till it be consumed.

The Saxons, under Hengest, obtain a large share in the kingdom for a time, but are conquered by Uther and Aurelius. They are wily and deceitful, while Vortiger, the British king, is easily deceived.

Roxena, the Saxon princess, kills the king's son Vortimer by the use of poison.

Constantius is a religious zealot, devoted to a life of contemplation, and bound by his monastic vows to a state of celibacy.

Castiza, a lady of noble birth, is induced by Vortiger to annoy Constantius with the temptation of earthly love; but in the attempt she is converted to his ideals and resolves upon a single life.

I, ii, 149, etc.:

CONSTANTIUS: Are you a Virgin?
CASTIZA: Never yet, my lord, known to the will of man.
CONSTANTIUS: O blessed creature!
Keep still that holy and immaculate fire.
. . . . Disdain as much to let mortality know you as stars to kiss the pavements.
. . . . They look but on corruption as you do, but are stars still; be you a virgin too.

Birth of Merlin

generals of Uther's army, and takes refuge in the castle. The murder of Constantius is the leading cause of his overthrow and ruin.

IV. v, 9, etc.:

PRINCE: Proud Vortiger . . . for safety's fled unto a Castle, here standing on the hill. . . . We'll send in wild fire to dislodge him, hence, or burn them all with flaming violence.

Under Ostorius the guileful Saxons secure the kingdom, but are defeated by Uther. The British King Aurelius becomes a ready dupe of the Saxons.

Artesia, the Saxon princess, makes use of poison to murder the king.

Modestia is by nature a religious zealot, meditative, and possessed by a passion for a holy life. She refuses to marry her favored suitor, and pledges herself to the life of a nun.

The Hermit also resembles Constantius in many respects.

Constantia, a lady of the nobility, is persuaded by Donobert to tempt Modestia from her resolution to become a nun; but Constantia is herself converted to her sister's views and adopts her resolution.

I, ii, 243, etc.:

HERMIT: Are you a Virgin?
MODESTIA: Yes, sir.
HERMIT: Your name?
MODESTIA: Modestia.
HERMIT: Your name and virtues meet, a modest virgin: Live ever in the sanctimonious way to Heaven and happiness. . . . Come, look up. Behold yon firmament; there sits a power whose footstool is this earth. O learn this lesson and

Mayor of Queenborough

CASTIZA: I'll never marry. . . . Forsaking all the world I'll save it well and do my faith no wrong.

Roxena, the unchaste and treacherous Saxon princess, is destroyed by fire when the castle is burned by the soldiers of Aurelius and Uther.

V. ii, 117, etc.:

Vortiger [of Roxena]: Burn, burn! . . . dry up her strumpet blood, and hardly parch her skin.

V. ii, 84, etc.:

VORTIGER: Ha, ha, ha!
HORSUS: Dost laugh?

II, x, etc.:

CASTIZA [to Vortiger]: I'm bound, my lord to marry none but you, . . . and you I'll never marry.

I, ii:

Name, character, sentiments, and speeches about marriage, etc., of Constantius.

Each of these plays is entitled from the leading character of the sub-plot. Each contains absurd anachronisms, one a Puritan and the other a playwright along with Uther Pendragon and his contemporaries. In one is a "play within the play," and in the other something closely akin to it in the "show" element. Both introduce dumb shows. Each has two slight sub-actions coupled with the main action. Both contain rough, boisterous, clownish, ignorant, and amusing characters. In one Raynulph acts as Chorus to hasten the action; in the other Merlin serves that purpose, by means of his supernatural knowledge revealing distant events. The revenge motive is the chief cause of Vortiger's downfall in each of the plays.

All these parallelisms in plot, motive, situation, and characterization are so striking, the relations of the leading personages so obviously analogous, the manner of the dialogue in corresponding situations is so similar in the two plays, that to explain the resem-

Birth of Merlin

practise it: he that will climb so high must leave no joy beneath to move his eye.

MODESTIA: I apprehend you, sir; on Heaven I fix my love. Earth gives us grief, our joys are all above.

Artesia, the deceitful and licentious Saxon princess, is threatened with death by burning when captured by Uther's soldiers.

V. ii, 54, etc.:

DONOBERT [of Artesia]: Burn her to dust.
EDOL: Take her hence and stake her carcass in the burning sun, till it be parched and dry; then flay her wicked skin.

V. ii, 110, etc.:

ARTESIA: Ha, ha, ha!
EDOL: Dost laugh, Erieth?

I, i, 110, etc.:

MODESTIA: Noble and virtuous: Could I dream of marriage, I should affect thee, Edwin.

III, ii:

Name of Constantia, etc.

blances as accidental is manifestly impossible. It is beyond a doubt that the writer of the later play had the earlier one before his mind and consciously adapted much of it to his own purposes.

But which is the earlier and which the later play? There is no record of *The Mayor of Queenborough* previous to its publication in 1661, a year earlier than that of *The Birth of Merlin*. Evidently the story of both dramas was drawn from some version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*. A comparison of the two plays with each other and with Geoffrey's account shows that the author of *The Mayor of Queenborough* has followed the history far more faithfully than has the writer of its analogue. For example, the story of Roxena (Rowena), daughter of Hengist, her relations with Vortiger, the trickery of Hengist, and all the other essential features of the main plot of *The Mayor of Queenborough*, are substantially identical with the details of Geoffrey's narrative. On the other hand, all the Artesia story is a pure invention of the author of *The Birth of Merlin*, who in numerous other particulars allows himself the greatest liberty in the handling of his material.

Now, the significance of these considerations lies in the fact that the departures in this play from the historical account are not required by the play itself; in fact, the Artesia action is a close analogy of the story of Rowena. Why, we may well inquire, did the writer deem it necessary to invent an Artesia to serve the same purpose in his play as that served by Rowena in Geoffrey's story, and by Roxena in *The Mayor of Queenborough*, serving that purpose, however, not in connection with Vortiger, but with his enemy Aurelius? Why did he not rather prefer to use Geoffrey's story, which would have appealed to his audiences as history, unless it was that that story had already been employed in a well-known play? Why invent a Hermit to imitate the historical Constantius unless for the same reason? And why, unless for that reason, duplicate the historical Castiza in a fictitious Modestia? If we try to suppose the more truly historical story to have been dramatized after the less truly historical one, the improbability of that order becomes apparent. We must conclude that *The Birth of Merlin* was written after *The Mayor of*

Queenborough. It may not be significant, though it is suggestive of this conclusion, that while the title-page of the latter play bears the line, "Many times acted with great applause," that of the latter runs, "Several times acted with great applause."

It is impossible to assign a positive date to *The Mayor of Queenborough*, but such evidence as there is would seem to point to some time after the year 1621 as the time of its composition.¹ Since *The Birth of Merlin* undoubtedly followed *The Mayor of Queenborough*, it is again evident that Shakespeare could have had no hand in its authorship.

It is perhaps not quite so easy to show that Middleton did have a part in *The Birth of Merlin* as that Shakespeare did not. Ellis and others favor the view that Rowley is the sole author, but the internal evidence does not seem to me to favor this opinion. First, the versification tests do not support it. (I make use of the results worked out by Miss Wiggin in her study of the Middleton-Rowley plays.)

	Rowley	<i>B. of M.</i> Serious Parts
Run-on lines.....	0.25	0.16
Feminine endings.....	0.25	0.47
Verse.....	Rough	Smooth

Secondly, the general tone of the serious portions is unlike the manner of Rowley in the dignity and restraint of the dialogue, the absence of exaggeration, and the deeper insight into character. Especially unlike Rowley's method is the treatment of the character of Modestia; in quiet, meditative strength and dignity, in noble and high-minded, though mistaken, self-renunciation, in consistency and absence of exaggeration, she is as far as possible from Rowley's characteristic method of character portrayal.

But it may be objected that Earl Edoll is a violent, irascible character, often stirred by ordinary, and sometimes by even trivial, obstacles to extremes of passion. It must be admitted

¹ Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 104; Bullen's Middleton, I, introd. xviii, ii, 86; Ward, Vol. II.

that the earl's outbursts of wrath are as violent and exaggerated as are those of the prince in the parts accredited to Rowley; but it should be observed that in the latter case we are given no preparatory hint that the prince is subject to such tantrums, nor are these fits explained, or reconciled with his power of calm self-control elsewhere exhibited (II, i, 115-26; IV, ii, 18, etc.). But in Edol's case we are furnished with a preparation for his fits of violence (II, ii, 16, etc.). So also are we reconciled to his habit of ranting by the comments of his companions (II, ii, 114, 115; IV, ii, 18). It is therefore clear that the dramatist intended to make him an exaggeration in this particular. This is quite a different thing from Rowley's unrestraint in depicting his characters, for he is evidently unaware that they are not well-balanced and natural. The objection above raised thus turns out to be an argument against the idea that Rowley wrote the scenes concerning Earl Edol.

But if the serious parts of *The Birth of Merlin* were not written by Rowley, what is the evidence that they were written by Middleton? This evidence falls under two heads: the characteristics of the versification, and the relations between this play and *The Mayor of Queenborough*.

	Middleton	<i>B. of M. Serious Parts</i>
Run-on lines.....	0.20	0.16
Rhyme.....	(<i>M. of Q.</i>) 1 ¹ / ₂	1 ¹ / ₂
Feminine endings.....	0.50	0.47

The correspondence in the two cases is sufficiently close to constitute confirmatory evidence that Middleton had a hand in *The Birth of Merlin*. It should be noted that this play was first printed entirely as prose and that critics have not altogether agreed in their re-establishment of the verse-lines.¹ This may in some degree account for lack of a closer correspondence in the foregoing comparison. Other particulars of corroborative evidence may be noted:

¹ E. g., see Warnke and Proescholdt's edition and notes.

The exclamation "Pish" is used several times in the serious parts of *The Birth of Merlin*. This is characteristic of Middleton (*Mayor of Queenborough*, e. g.), but not of Rowley. (Wiggin.)

A large number of short broken lines occur in both *B. of M.* and *M. of Q.*, particularly lines of three feet.

The end-stopt effect of the verse in the serious parts of *B. of M.* is strikingly like that of the verse of *M. of Q.* and of Middleton generally,

The occurrence of a disorderly mixture of rhyme and blank verse is frequently found in both plays.

In both a rhymed couplet is often thrown into the middle of a speech in blank verse.

There is an appreciable percentage of double feminine endings in *B. of M.* This is characteristic of Middleton.

In both plays the close of a speech is often an incomplete verse that is not filled out at the beginning of the next following speech.

Finally, alliteration is noticeable in several of the longer speeches of both plays.

All this would seem to establish a fair presumption that the two dramatists who produced so much in collaboration about the time when this play is supposed to have been written, united in the production of this one as well.

But would Middleton be likely to take part in two plays so much alike in method of treatment of the same story? Could he be insensible to the certainty that his audiences would detect him in the attempt to palm off upon them old work for new? Whether or not Fleay considered these questions in adopting the suggestion of Daniel does not appear; yet he dates the plays only a year apart. But the questions require an answer, and it is not easy to give a satisfactory answer to them.

While it is difficult to see how Middleton could participate in these two strangely similar plays at so short an interval, it is still more difficult to suppose that Rowley would join with some other dramatist in the later of them so soon after the earlier had become well known, or that any other dramatist would care to take part with him in such a work. But while it is clear that *The Birth of*

Merlin followed *The Mayor of Queenborough*, it is quite unlikely that it followed it so closely as Fleay supposes; for what incentive could there be for a playwright to venture in competition with a play that was holding the stage by writing another play dealing with the same story in a similar way, though a far less authentic way? But unless the former play had been successful, why imitate it at all? And if successful, why imitate it so soon?

If a guess may be added to those already made concerning this play by others, we may suppose that *The Mayor of Queenborough* had proved a popular work, and that Middleton, on the lookout for subjects, wrote a sketch to be worked up at some future time into a sequel and complement of *The Mayor of Queenborough*. Perhaps he found it difficult, in handling the same story, to treat it in a sufficiently different style from that of his first use of it, and so laid it aside as unavailable. After the lapse of several years—perhaps after Middleton's death—Rowley may have revised the sketch, adding some parts, and possibly touching it up here and there by means of suggestions derived from *The Mayor of Queenborough*. Rowley's lack of constructive ability, together with the very possible exigency of having to provide a play on short notice would render such a guess not wholly improbable.

At all events, the theory that Middleton and Rowley wrote *The Birth of Merlin* is far more respectable than the obsolete belief that Shakespeare and Rowley wrote it, and is, on the whole, the most probable theory respecting its authorship.

I would assign the various parts as follows:

I, i, 2, Middleton.

II, i, Rowley; ii, iii, Middleton.

III, i, Rowley; ii, Middleton; iii, either might have written it; iv, Rowley; v, either; vi, Middleton.

IV, i, first 135 lines, Rowley; remainder, Middleton; ii, iii, iv, Middleton; v, Rowley.

V, i, Rowley; ii, Middleton.

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